

WIDENER



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THE
SERMONS
OF
THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND CONSTANT
MARTYR OF JESUS CHRIST,
HUGH LATIMER,
SOME TIME BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

NOW FIRST ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF TIME IN WHICH THEY WERE PREACHED, COLLATED BY THE
EARLY IMPRESSIONS, AND OCCASIONALLY ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES, EXPLANATORY OF OBSOLETE
PHRASES, PARTICULAR CUSTOMS, AND HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
A MEMOIR OF THE BISHOP;
BY
JOHN WATKINS, LL.D.

Then they brought a fagot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet, to whom Master Latimer spake in this manner: "BE OF GOOD CHEER, MASTER RIDLEY, AND PLAY THE MAN; WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE, BY GOD'S GRACE, IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST SHALL NEVER BE PUT OUT."—Fox.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JAMES DUNCAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCLXXIV.

2.2.135
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LONDÔN:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Northumberland-court.

16.3.18
14.2

DEDICATION.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE THE
LADY KATHERINE, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK,
AUGUSTINE BERNHER

WEBSHETH THE GRACE OF GOD WITH THE INCREASE OF ALL HEAVENLY
VIRTUES TO HER GRACE'S ETERNAL COMFORT IN JESUS CHRIST.

THAT princely prophet David describing the perverse nature and wicked properties of the ungodly and reprobates, amongst other crimes whereof he doth accuse them, he layeth also to their charge, that they have not called upon God. By the which words, he doth manifestly teach, that they which do not give themselves to true and faithful prayer, and invocating of the name of God, are in the number of those which do say in their hearts there is no God. For as the godly, by their earnest and continual praying and praising of the name of God, do declare the reverend fear they bear towards his divine majesty, and their unfeigned love, the which is grafted in their hearts by the gracious and divine Spirit, towards their heavenly and most loving Father, by the which they are encouraged willingly and cheerfully to walk in the way of godliness, and to frame their lives to the will and pleasure of him whom they fear and love: So, on the contrary side, the ungodly in that they do not call upon their God, neither praise him, most evidently declare that they stand not in awe of him, nor love him, but rather despise him as one that is neither able to hurt or pleasure them.

By this now that I have said it doth manifestly appear, that as faithful and true prayer is the occasion of all good-

ness and godliness, so the omitting and neglecting of the same is the root and cause of all sin and mischief: and that will be more evident unto them that do consider with themselves these two principal parts, wherein true prayer doth consist. The first part of true prayer, is called in the Hebrew tongue, *Thephillah*, the which signifieth *Judicii vel condemnationis deprecationem*, a hearty and earnest request and supplication, made unto God the eternal judge, for the remission and pardon of sins, the which request proceedeth from the heart that is anguished by the ugsome* sight of his wickedness, revealed by the brightness of the law of God.

The other part of prayer is called in the same tongue *THEHILLAH*, *Laus*, a praise of God's mercies, the which doth follow the former request. For when the heart so anguished hath poured out his grief, and is by the Spirit of God certified that his sins be forgiven, his prayer is heard for Christ's sake; by and by it bursteth out into a joyful praising of the name of the Lord, who so graciously hath shewed himself, in giving comfort unto his sorrowful conscience. In these two parts of prayer the children of God do exercise themselves, that is, in lamenting of their sins, and in rejoicing in the forgiveness of the same, the which consisteth in the death of Christ.

Whereupon the third part followeth, the which is to crave at their Father's hands such things as be needful for them in this world. Now he that beholdeth diligently the state of the world, shall easily perceive that the most part of men are given up to their own hearts' lusts, because they be destitute of that most comfortable spirit of prayer. Who doth not see that the principal occasion of this horrible unthankfulness, the which of all states of men is showed towards the eternal God, happeneth by the reason

* An old word for ugly. It often occurs in Latimer's sermons, but in the present edition is modernized for the sake of euphony.

that men do not pass for their sins, do lightly regard them, and so do not crave remission of them at God's hands, neither be thankful? If men did exercise themselves in faithful prayer, and did use to examine themselves by the rule of the law of God (in the which glass they may soon see their own filthiness) they would no doubt with great diligence, consider the great and inestimable benefits of the Lord their God shewed unto them, even in these our days. First, how graciously he gave us the light of the gospel in King Edward's time, for the space of seven years. After the which time, by the reason of our unthankfulness, he most justly plagued us, and took the same away again, and caused by the devil's hangmen (the Papists I mean) darkness, blindness, and most pestiferous doctrine to be brought into the church, by reason whereof, a great number that had before no lust to the truth (even by God's just judgment) were then deceived by lies, and so perished eternally. And yet, notwithstanding, the faithful Lord in all these turmoilings preserved his servants, giving unto a number of them such a princely spirit, that they were able to deride and laugh to scorn the threatenings of the tyrants, to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, and in the end, most joyfully to overcome and conquer death to the praise of God and their own endless comfort. Unto other some, the self-same most gracious God gave such a valiant spirit, that they were able, by his grace, to forsake the pleasures and commodities of this world, and being armed with patience, were content to travel into far and unknown countries, with their families and households, having small worldly provision, or none all; but trusting to his providence, who never forsaketh them that trust in him. Besides this, the same God preserved a great number, even in the midst of their enemies, not only from bodily dangers, but also from being infected with that poisoned and blasphemous doctrine, that then in all open

pulpits, with shameless brags and ostentation was set abroad. I will not speak now of that wonderful work of God, who caused his word to be preached, and his sacraments ministered even in the midst of the enemies, in spite of the devil and all his ministers. These things the Lord wrought most graciously for his people ; but when the time came that the measure of wickedness of the wicked was full, the self-same God, even of his own mercy, and by his own power confounded his enemies, by the means of our most gracious Lady, the Queen's majesty, (for whose prosperous estate and preservation the God of mercy grant unto all faithful Christians grace most instantly to pray,) her most joyful coming to the imperial crown of this realm, who caused that filthy and dark anti-christian doctrine to vanish out of sight, and instead thereof, that most glorious light of the gospel to shine again ; the which sorrowfully was wished for of all faithful English hearts, restoring withal the preachers of the same gospel, the which before were expulsed as exiles, by the tyranny of the Popish prelates. The which benefits, as they be unmeasurable, so ought they continually, with thankful hearts of all them that bear the name of Christians to be considered. But as I said before, the most part of men do not pass for these things. The light of the gospel is not comfortable unto them, because they feel not the darkness that is in them ; they be not troubled with their own wickedness ; sin lieth lurking and sleeping within them, and they have fully, as it were, sold themselves to worldly business, to climb up to get honours and dignities, and the pelf of worldly things ; and these things are the cause why they do not pray unto the Lord their God. But woe be unto such sleepers in their own sins, and forgetters of God's benefits. A day will come when they shall wish themselves never to have been born. Thus you see that the neglecting of prayer is the occasion of that horrible unthankful-

ness and forgetfulness of God's benefits. What is to be said unto them, that, contrary to their own hearts and consciences, lie in sin and wickedness, and will not amend their lives, although they hear their sins accused, condemned, and God's vengeance pronounced upon them ? They be so drowned with the desires of their own hearts, that they do not pass for the ways of the Lord. Of such kind of men the world is full, which have shameless foreheads, being not abashed of their vileness. The cause of their miseries (as David declareth) is *quia Deum non invocaverunt*, because they have not called upon God. But what kind of prayer do those men say (trow you) which call themselves spiritual and *χληπος* "the lot of the Lord?" It is as manifest as the noon day, that the most part of them neither pray nor know what true prayer is. For if they did use to pray as the true Christians do, they could not choose but be compelled to amend their lives ; their consciences would be abashed to come before the Lord, without a hearty purpose to amend their conversation. Doth not the saying of Hosea the prophet, take hold upon the most part of you that be of the Popish clergy, and have been mass-mongers ? " Where, as he saith, as thieves wait for a man, so the companies of priests murder in the way by consent, for they work mischief." Did not you conspire together at the entry of Queen Mary, to murder the people of God, in casting from you most traitorously the precious gospel of Jesus Christ ; in submitting yourselves to that filthy beast of Rome, and in receiving the stinking idolatrous mass, by the which you have destroyed an innumerable sort of people ? Are you sorry for these your doings ? Do you humble yourselves before the majesty of the terrible God, with hearty and faithful prayer, acknowledging your wickedness, and intending to eschew the same ? No such things can be perceived in you. For whereas before, in the time of antichrist, boldly and

openly you did deceive the people of their salvation in Christ, now in the light of the gospel, secretly you whisper into the ears of the simple, and dissuade them from receiving of the truth, so that most justly you may be compared unto those spies of whom we read, (Num. xiii;) the which with their false reports, did hinder the people of Israel from entering into the land of promise. For they being sent by Moses to search the land, and to bring good tidings unto the people, by the which they might have been encouraged manfully to have assayed their enemies, and take possession of the land, they contrary to Moses's expectation, like faithless men, came and discomfited the people, and caused them to mistrust God's promises. And do not ye the like? whereas God hath appointed you to search the land of promise in his holy word, and to bring tidings of the same unto his people, by faithful and diligent teachers, and encourage them to embrace and to lay hold upon the kingdom of Christ, you, like false messengers, either by your false reports and wicked doctrine, do hinder the people from entering into the promised land; or else, like dumb dogs that are not able to bark, you lie in your kennels, feeding your bellies and making good cheer with the labours and sweat of the poor people, not passing whether they swim or sink, or what become of them. Worthily, therefore, the prophet David numbereth you amongst them that say in their hearts, There is no God: and this appeareth unto all others, because ye do not call upon God. For if you did accustom to call yourselves to an account before the majesty of God, in your faithful prayers, the remembrance of your horrible murder of God's people, of your idleness, carelessness, belly-cheer, ignorance of God's will and word, secret filthiness, and such other like stuff, would cause you to water your cheeks, and compel you to shew some token of repentance unto the people of God: but nothing is seen in you but despe-

rateness, wherefore the Spirit of the Lord is departed from you. And this is more evident in your manifold and manifest perjuries, committed by you in King Henry's time, in King Edward's time, in Queen Mary's time. And what may be said of you at this time, but that you be false perjured hypocrites, bearing two faces under one hood, being ready like weathercocks to turn at all seasons as the wind doth carry you? Can you look for any thing at God's hands, but to be punished with his terrible plagues as Judas was (whose companions you be), that all the world may take ensample by you to beware of these horrible crimes with the which you are so defiled, that no water in the sea is able to make you clean? One kind of water would help your disease, if the Lord of his mercy would give you grace to call unto him for it, that is the same water of life the which the Lord promiseth to the faithful and penitent sinners, amongst the number of whom as yet ye be not (so far as man can judge.) And therefore it standeth you in hand to look about you in time, before the halter be cast about your necks, as it happened to Judas, whose footsteps you follow in your behaviours in this world, that it is to be feared you shall rest together in one place in the world to come. But of the vile behaviour of these miserable men it grieveth me to speak any further, not doubting but that the magistrates whom God hath charged with his people, will even with speed consider these things accordingly, and not suffer those wavering and perjured weathercocks to have any thing to do within the house of God, the which is his Church, purified with the blood of Christ. For the magistrates know that they themselves cannot pray unto the Lord their God, except their hearts be faithfully disposed to do the works of their vocation truly and faithfully, of the which the principal is to see the people instructed by faithful ministers in the ways of the Lord; the which in-

structions cannot be given by such as are not only defiled with such kind of vices as is above rehearsed, but also are utterly destitute of all good gifts, and know not the principles of their religion. This matter is so weighty, and of such importance, that the magistrates, having the fear of God before their eyes, must needs consider it with speed, for it toucheth the eternal safeguard of them for whom the Son of God did shed his own heart's blood: they ought not to be put into the hands of such as do not pass for their own salvation, much less for others. Therefore, with great and speedy diligence the magistrates are bound (seeing God doth put them in trust with his children) to provide, that as they be bought with the blood of Christ, so they may be nourished with the true and sincere word of God, to the praise of his name, and their eternal comfort. Further, who cannot lament, even from the bottom of his heart, to see a great number to live in such carelessness, and flatter themselves in their own sins, thinking that they be the children of God, when as in very deed the comfortable spirit of faithful prayer is departed from them, and they worthily numbered amongst them that have no God nor Christ: as those men be which be so greedy upon the world, and have addicted and consecrated themselves unto it, after such a sort, as though this world should last for ever. And in this taking be the greater part of the gentlemen, which with such extremities entreat their poor tenants, with raising of rents, taking of fines, and other kinds of extreme dealings, that they are compelled day and night to cry unto God for vengeance against them; and can any man think that these pitiless and cruel men can appear before the majesty of God, and crave remission of their sins, when as they be purposed to go on forward still in their extreme dealings against the poor? I will not speak now of them that, being not content with their lands and rents, do catch into their hands spiritual livings, as par-

sonages and such like, and that under the pretence to make provision for their houses. What hurt and damage this realm of England doth sustain by that devilish kind of provision for gentlemen's houses, knights' and lords' houses, they can tell best that do travel in the countries, and see with their eyes great parishes and market-towns, with innumerable others, to be utterly destitute of God's word, and that because that these greedy men have spoiled the livings and gotten them into their hands ; and instead of a faithful and painful teacher, they hire a Sir John *, which hath better skill in playing at tables, or in keeping of a garden, than in God's word, and he for a trifle doth serve the cure, and so help to bring the people of God in danger of their souls. And all those serve to accomplish the abominable pride of such gentlemen which consume the goods of the poor (the which ought to have been bestowed upon a learned minister) in costly apparel, belly-cheer, or in building of gorgeous houses. But let them be assured, that a day will come when it will be laid to their charge : “*Rapina pauperum in domibus vestris.*” And then they shall perceive that their fair houses are built in the place called “*Aceldama* ;” they have a bloody foundation, and therefore cannot stand long. This matter also is so weighty, and the spiritual slaughter of the poor people so miserable and woeful, that except the magistrates speedily look thereunto, and redress the same, the Lord of Sabaoth himself will find out some remedy to deliver his people from such caterpillars, and require the blood of his people at their hands, by whose covetousness they were letted to come to the knowledge of Christ. And besides this, such ravening wolves as devour the livings of teachers and ministers of God's word, shall not be able to come in the presence of the Lord, to pray unto him or to praise him ; for all that

* Curates were commonly so denominated before the Reformation, and especially chaplains in noblemen's and gentlemen's houses.

ever they do (yea even their prayers) is execrable before the Lord, so long as they turn their ear from the hearing of the law of the Lord : that is to say, so long as they do not even from the very bottom of their hearts, go about to redress these heinous faults with the which they be entangled. Let them repent, therefore, even speedily, before the wrathful indignation of the Lord fall upon them, and so destroy them in their sins. And these things ought to be considered of all them that pretend Christianity, of what estate or degree soever they be, as well lawyers (whose covetousness hath almost devoured England) as craftsmen, husbandmen, servants and others, remembering with themselves, that if their hearts be inclined to wickedness the Lord will not hear their prayers. Let them stand in awe of the Lord their God, and so behave themselves in their conversation and life, that they may have recourse unto him, and be encouraged to make their prayers confidently before him in the name of Jesus Christ, of whom they shall receive comfort of soul and body, as well in this world as in the world to come eternally. For this is most certain, that if they proceed in their wickedness and ungodliness, not passing whether they be ruled, moved, and stirred by the gracious Spirit of God to praise his name or not ; then most assuredly, the Lord will pour out his plagues upon the whole realm, according to the saying of the Prophet : “ The Lord will pour out his wrath upon the kingdoms that have not called upon his name.”

Now to the intent that they which are ignorant and unlearned may the better be instructed how to order themselves when they go about to present themselves before the majesty of God, and talk with him concerning those things which be needful for their souls' health, and preservation of their bodies ; I thought it good (by the instant request of the godly learned) to put forth these sermons here following in print, which were preached in King Edward's time, before the Right

Honourable Lady Katharine Duchess of Suffolk, her Grace, by that same reverend father and most constant martyr of Christ, Dr. Hugh Latimer, my most dear master. For whose most painful travels, faithful preachings, true carefulness for his country, patient imprisonment, and constant suffering, all the whole realm of England hath great cause to give unto the eternal God most high laud and praise. For who is he that is so ignorant that did not see the wonderful handy-work of God in that man? Did not God appoint him, even in King Henry's days, to be a singular instrument to set forth his truth, and by his preaching to open the eyes of such as were deluded by the subtle and deceitful crafts of the popish prelates? How manifold ways was he troubled, tossed, and turmoiled from post to pillar, by the popish bishops; whose hands he could not have escaped if God had not moved the King's Majesty's heart (that then was) to assist him: by whose absolute power divers times he was delivered from the cruel lions. And although it did please God, in process of time to suffer the King's Majesty to be deluded and circumvented by the subtle persuasions of those popish bishops to establish by law six ungodly articles, yet this faithful servant of Christ would rather put his own life in danger than forsake or depart from that, the which afore most faithfully he had taught out of God's word. Wherefore he was contented rather to be cast into the Tower, and there to look daily for death, than to be found a wavering reed, or to deceive his Prince. "For they," said he, "that do allow any thing disagreeing from God's word, in respect to fulfil the appetites of princes, are betrayers and murderers of their princes, because they provoke the wrath of God to destroy such princes; and these flatterers become guilty of the blood of their princes, and are the chief causes of their destructions." Wherefore this faithful man of God, knowing his prince to be deluded by the false priests, and being

assured the things that were allowed to be contrary to God's word, was ready thus to adventure his life; at the which time God mercifully delivered him, to the great comfort of all godly hearts, and singular commodity of his church. Now when he was thus delivered, did he give himself up to the pleasures of the world? to delicateness or idleness! No assuredly, but even then most of all he began to set forth his plough, and to till the ground of the Lord, and to sow the good corn of God's word, behaving himself as a faithful messenger of God, being afraid of no man, telling all degrees their duties faithfully and truly, without respect of persons, or any kind of flattery. In the which his painful travels he continued all King Edward's time, preaching for the most part every Sunday two sermons, to the great shame, confusion, and damnation, of a great number of our fat-bellied unpreaching prelates. For he being a sore bruised man, and above three-score and seven years of age, took notwithstanding all these pains in preaching, and besides this, every morning ordinarily, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, he was at his book most diligently; and besides this how careful he was for the preservation of the church of God, and for the good success of the gospel, they can bear record, which at that time were in authority, whom continually by his letters he admonished of their duties, and assisted with his godly counsel. But when the time approached, the which God had appointed for the punishment of the carnal gospellers and hypocrites which most wickedly abused the same, how faithfully he did admonish, both privately and openly, all kinds of men, they that were then about him can bear record. But one thing amongst others is principally to be noted, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit most plenteously and comfortably, to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he did most evidently prophesy of all those kinds of plagues, which in very deed

afterwards ensued, so plainly I say, as though he had seen them before his eyes : so that, if England ever had a prophet, he was one ; and amongst other things he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, to the which thing he did most cheerfully arm and prepare himself, being certainly persuaded that Winchester* was kept in the tower for the same purpose. Therefore not long after Queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down into the country for to call him up ; of whose coming when he was made ware about six hours before, by a faithful man of God, John Careless†, (a man worthy of everlasting memory,) he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house, at the which thing when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him, " My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me, and be it known unto you and to the whole world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was to any place in the world ; and I do not doubt, but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so he will able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort, or discomfort eternally, &c. At the which time the pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment

* Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.

† John Careless was a weaver of Coventry, and a man full of zeal for the gospel. He died in the prison of the King's Bench, so that though he was a martyr in effect, he escaped the fiery trial to which, but for that deliverance he was doomed. Fox has preserved many of his letters, by which it appears that his piety exceeded his learning. Writing to a fellow-prisoner Green, he says " Oh ! blessed Green, thou meek and living lamb of the Lord ! How happy art thou to be appointed to die for his sake ! A full dainty dish art thou for the Lord's own tooth ! Fresh and green shalt thou be in the house of the Lord, and thy fruits shall never wither nor decay." Again, in a letter to the martyr Philpot, he says, " Oh my good master Philpot, which art a principal pot indeed, filled with most precious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the same ! Oh pot, most happy of the high Potter, ordained to honour, which dost contain such heavenly treasures in the earthen vessel ! Oh pot, thrice happy ! "

not to tarry for him, by whose sudden departure it was manifest, that they would not have had him to appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constantness should confound them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth. As concerning the manner and form how he was entertained when he came before the council, how stoutly he did behave himself in Christ's cause, and was content to bear most patiently all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful and pestilent papists: also how patiently he took his imprisonment, and how boldly and willingly he in the end, adventured his life in the defence of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, because these things be at large described in the book of the martyrs, by that most godly, learned, and excellent instrument of God, master John Fox, I will not spend the time now to rehearse the same, saving one thing, the which I would wish all godly bishops and faithful preachers to note, the which is this, that he being in prison comfortless, and destitute of all worldly help, most of all did rejoice in this, that God had given him grace, to apply his office of preaching, and assisted him without fear or flattery to tell unto the wicked their faults, and admonish them of their wickedness ; neither allowing, nor consenting, to any thing that might be prejudicial or hurtful unto the gospel of Christ, although the refusal thereof did cast him in danger of his life. God grant that all those that be in that office may follow his footsteps, and that the rest that either refuse to take pains, or are given to flatter, may be turned out, and be set to the cart or plough, and others put into their rooms that be willing, diligent, and able to do their duties !

The other thing that I would have noticed, is his earnestness and diligence in prayer, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able for to rise without help ; and amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for. The first, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher and professor of his

word, so also he would give him grace to stand unto his doctrine until his death. The other thing, the which most instantly with great violence of God's Spirit he desired, was that God of his mercy would restore the gospel of his son Christ unto this realm of England once again, and these words “once again, once again,” he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spake unto him face to face. The third principal matter wherewith in his prayers he was occupied; was to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty that now is, whom in his prayer accustomably he was wont to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly; but were these things desired in vain? Did God despise the prayers of this his faithful soldier? No assuredly; for the Lord did most graciously grant all these his requests. First, concerning profession, even in the most extremity, the Lord graciously assisted him; for when he stood at the stake, without Bocardo gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set the fire upon him, and that most reverend father Doctor Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven, with a most amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, *Fidelis est Deus, qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus*; “God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength:” and so afterwards by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ, the which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance that all those that were present (being godly,) did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body so to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire. By the which thing God most graciously granted his request, the which was, to shed his heart's blood in the defence of the gospel. How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in

restoring his gospel once again to this realm, these present days can bear record. But alas ! what shall England say for her defence, how shall she avoid the terrible plagues of God for the horrible and devilish unthankfulness, for that treasure ? The Lord be merciful unto us.

Now concerning his third request, it was also most effectuously granted to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm : for when matters were even desperate, and the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word banished, Spaniards received, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and made an end of all these miseries, and appointed her, for whom that same grey-headed father Latimer so earnestly prayed in his captivity, as the true and natural ruler, and owner of this imperial crown, to shew herself, and by the brightness of God's word to confound the dark, devilish, and vile kingdom of Antichrist, and to restore the temple of God again, the which thing not this faithful prophet only but all the rest, whom God made worthy to be his witnesses, did most earnestly require and desire in their faithful prayers. The self-same God grant unto every faithful Christian his spirit, that they may be diligent and watchful in prayers for her, by whom God hath bestowed such unspeakable gifts upon us, that the same God will assist her with his grace and Holy Spirit, to proceed faithfully in the building of his house, and in plucking down of all kinds of sin and wickedness, superstition, idolatry, and all the monuments of the same, to the glory of his name, and her everlasting and endless comfort. To the which faithful prayers, that all they which fear God may be the better encouraged ; I have set forth these sermons, made by this holy man of God, and dedicated them to your grace ; partly, because they were preached in your grace's house at Grimsthorp, by this reverend father and faithful prophet of God, whom you did

nourish, and whose doctrine you did most faithfully embrace, to the praise of God, and unspeakable comfort of all godly hearts, the which did with great admiration marvel at the excellent gifts of God, bestowed upon your grace, in giving unto you such a princely spirit, by whose power and virtue you were able to overcome the world, to forsake your possessions, lands, and goods, your worldly friends, and native country, your high estate and estimation, with the which you were adorned, and to become an exile for Christ and his gospel's sake : to choose rather to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of the world with a wicked conscience, esteeming the rebukes of Christ greater riches, than the treasures of England: whereas the worldlings are far otherwise minded: for they have their pleasures amongst the pots of Egypt, they eat, drink, and make merry, not passing what become of Christ or his gospel ; they be so drunken with the sweet delicates of this miserable world, that they will not taste of the bitter morsels which the Lord hath appointed and prepared for his chosen children, and especial friends. Of the which he did make you most graciously to taste, giving unto your grace his Spirit, that you were able in all the turmoils and grievances the which you did receive, not only at the hands of those which were your professed enemies, but also at the hands of them which pretended friendship and good-will, but secretly wrought sorrow and mischief ; to be quiet and patient, and in the end brought your grace home again into your native country, no doubt to no other end, but that you should be a comfort unto the comfortless, and an instrument by the which his holy name should be praised, and his gospel propagated and spread abroad ; to the glory of his holy name, and your eternal comfort in Christ Jesus, unto whose merciful hands I commit your grace, with all yours eternally. Amen.

From Southam, the 2d of October, 1562.

SERMONS.

THE FIRST

OF

MASTER HUGH LATIMER's SEVEN SERMONS *ON THE LORD'S PRAYER.*

Preached before the virtuous and honourable lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, in the year of our Lord, 1552.

MATTHEW vi. 9.

Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

I HAVE entered of late in the way of preaching, and spoken many things of prayer, and rather of prayer than of any other thing: for I think there is nothing more necessary to be spoken of, nor more abused than prayer was by the craft and subtilty of the devil; for many things were taken for prayer when they were nothing less. Therefore at this same time, also I have thought it good to entreat of prayer, to the intent that it might be known how precious a thing right prayer is. I told you,

First, What prayer is.

Secondarily, To whom we ought to pray.

Thirdly, Where and in what place we ought to pray, And, Fourthly, I told you the diversity of prayer, namely, of common prayer and the private.

These and such like things I have dilated, and expounded unto you in the open pulpit*.

Now at this present time I intend as by the way of a lecture, at the request of my most gracious lady to expound unto you, her household servants, and others that be willing to hear, the right understanding and meaning of this most perfect prayer which our Saviour himself taught us, at the request of his dis-

* These sermons were preached in the house of the duchess of Suffolk.

ciples, which prayer we call the *Paternoster*. This prayer of our Lord may be called a prayer above all prayers, the principal and most perfect prayer, which prayer ought to be regarded above all others, considering that our Saviour himself is the author of it; he was the maker of this prayer, being very God and very man. He taught us this prayer, which is a most perfect schoolmaster, and commanded us to say it; which prayer containeth great and wonderful things, if a learned man had the handling of it. But as for me, such things as I have conceived by the reading of learned men's books, so far forth as God will give me his grace and spirit, I will shew unto you touching the very meaning of it, and what is to be understood by every word contained in that prayer; for there is no word idle or spoken in vain. For it must needs be perfect, good, and of great importance, being our Saviour's teaching, which is the wisdom of God itself. There be many other psalms and prayers in scripture very good and godly, and it is good to know them. But it is with this prayer, the Lord's Prayer, I say, like as with the law of love. All the laws of Moses, as concerning what is to be done to please God, how to walk before him uprightly and godly; all such laws are contained in the law of love, *Diliges, Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua, et proximum sicut te ipsum*, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself:" (Matt. xxii.) Even so is it with this prayer. For like as the law of love is the sum and abridgment of the other laws, so this prayer is the sum and abridgment of all other prayers; all the other prayers are contained in this prayer; yea, whatsoever mankind hath need of to soul and body, that same is contained in this prayer.

This prayer hath two parts; it hath a preface, which some call a salutation or a loving entrance; secondarily, the prayer itself. The entrance is this; *Cum oratis, dicite, Paternoster, qui es in celis*; when ye pray, say, "Our Father, which art in heaven;" as who should say, you Christian people, you bear the name of Christians, you must pray so.

Before I go any further, I must put you in remembrance to consider how much we be bound to our Saviour Christ, that he would vouchsafe to teach us to pray, and in this prayer to sig-

nify unto us the good-will which our heavenly Father beareth towards us. Now to the matter:

"Our Father." These words pertain not to the petitions, they be but an entering, a seeking favour at God's hand; yet if we well weigh and consider them, they admonish us of many things and strengthen our faith wondrous well. For this word FATHER signifieth that we be Christ's brothers, and that God is our Father. He is the eldest Son, he is the son of God by nature, we be his sons by adoption through his goodness; therefore he biddeth us to call him our Father, which is to be had in fresh memory, and great reputation. For here we are admonished how that we be "reconciled unto God; we, which before-times were his enemies, are made now the children of God, and inheritors of everlasting life." This we be admonished by this word Father. So that it is a word of much importance and great reputation: for it confirmeth our faith, when we call him Father. Therefore our Saviour, when he teacheth us to call God Father, teacheth us to understand the fatherly affection which God beareth towards us; which thing maketh us bold and hearty to call upon him, knowing that he beareth a good-will towards us, and that he will surely hear our prayers.

When we be in trouble, we doubt of a stranger whether he will help us or not: but our Saviour commanding us to call God Father, teacheth us to be assured of the love and good-will of God toward us. So by this word "Father," we learn to establish and to comfort our faith, knowing most assuredly that he will be good unto us. For Christ was a perfect schoolmaster, he lacked no wisdom; he knew his Father's will and pleasure; he teacheth us, yea and most certainly assureth us, that God will be no cruel judge, but a loving Father. Here we see what commodities we have in this word, "Father." Seeing now that we find such commodities by this one word, we ought to consider the whole prayer with great diligence and earnest mind. For there is no word nor letter contained in this prayer, but it is of great importance, and therefore it is necessary for us to know and understand it thoroughly; and then to speak it considerately with great devotion; else it is to no purpose to speak the words without understanding, it is but lip

labour and vain babbling, and so unworthy to be called prayer ; as it was in times past used in England.

Therefore when you say this prayer, you must well consider what you say ; for it is better once said deliberately, with understanding, than a thousand times without understanding ; which is in very deed but vain babbling ; and so more a displeasure than pleasure unto God. For the matter lieth not in much saying, but in well saying. So, if it be said to the honour of God, then it hath its effect, and we shall have our petitions ; for God is true in his promises : and our Saviour knowing him to be well affected towards us, commandeth us therefore to call him Father.

Here you must understand, that like as our Saviour was most earnest and fervent in teaching us how to pray and call upon God for aid and help, and for things necessary both to our souls and bodies ; so the devil, that old serpent, with no less diligence endeavoureth himself to let and stop our prayers ; so that we shall not call upon God. And amongst other his lets, he hath one especially wherewith he thinketh to keep us from prayer, which is the remembrance of our sins. When he perceiveth us to be disposed to pray ; he cometh with his crafty and subtil conveyances, saying, What, wilt thou pray unto God for aid and help ? Knowest thou not that thou art a wicked sinner, and a transgressor of the law of God ? Look rather to be damned, and judged for thy ill doings, than to receive any benefit at his hands. Wilt thou call him Father, which is so holy a God, and thou art so wicked, and miserable a sinner ?

This the devil will say, and trouble our minds, to stop and let us from our prayer ; and so to give us occasion not to pray unto God. In this temptation we must seek for some remedy and comfort ; for the devil doth put us in remembrance of our sins to that end, to keep us from prayer and invocation of God. The remedy for this temptation is to call our Saviour to remembrance, who hath taught us to say this prayer ; he knew his Father's pleasure, he knew what he did. When he commanded us to call God our Father, he knew we should find fatherly affections in God towards us. Call this, I say, to remembrance, and again remember that our Saviour hath cleansed, through his passion, all our sins, and taken away all

our wickedness ; so that as many as believe in him shall be the children of God. In such wise let us strive and fight against the temptations of the devil, which would not have us to call upon God, because we be sinners. Catch thou hold of our Saviour, believe in him, be assured in thy heart, that he with his suffering took away all thy sins. Consider again, that our Saviour calleth us to prayer, and commandeth us to pray. Our sins let us, and withdraw us from prayer ; but our Saviour maketh them nothing : when we believe in him, it is like as if we had no sins. For he changeth with us, he taketh our sins and wickedness from us, and giveth unto us his holiness, righteousness, justice, fulfilling of the law ; and so, consequently, everlasting life : so that we be like as if we had done no sin at all ; for his righteousness standeth us in so good stead, as though we of ourselves had fulfilled the law to the uttermost.

Therefore our sins cannot let us, nor withdraw us from prayer : for they be gone, they are no sins, they cannot be hurtful unto us. Christ dying for us, as all the scripture, both of the new and old testament, witnesseth ; *Dolores nostros ipse portavit*, “ He hath taken away our sorrows.” Like as when I owe unto a man an hundred pounds ; the day is expired, he will have his money ; I have it not, and for lack of it, I am laid in prison. In such distress cometh a good friend, and saith, Sir, be of good cheer, I will pay thy debts ; and forthwith payeth the whole sum, and setteth me at liberty. Such a friend is our Saviour ; he hath paid our debts, and set us at liberty ; else we should have been damned world without end, in everlasting prison and darkness. Therefore though our sins condemn us, yet when we allege Christ and believe in him, our sins shall not hurt us. For St. John saith, *Si quis peccaverit advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Jesum Christum justum*, “ We have an advocate with God the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.” Mark, that he saith, *Advocatum, non advocatos*. He speaketh singularly, not plurally.

We have one advocate, not many ; neither saints, nor any body else, but only him, and none other, neither by the way of mediation, nor by the way of redemption. He only is sufficient, for he only is all the doer, let him have all the whole praise. Let us not withdraw from him his majesty, and give it to creatures, for he only satisfieth for the sins of the whole world.

So that all that believe in Christ be clean from all the filthiness of their sins. For St. John Baptist saith, *Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*, “Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.” (John i.) Doth the devil call thee from prayer? Christ calleth thee unto it again: For so it is written, *In hoc apparuit Filius Dei, ut destruat opera diaboli*, “To that end the Son of God appeared, to destroy the works of the devil.” (1 John iii.)

But mark here: scripture speaketh not of impenitent sinners; Christ suffered not for them; his death remedieith not their sins. For they be the bondmen of the devil, and his slaves; and therefore Christ's benefits pertain not unto them. It is a wonderful saying that St. John hath: “Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.” The devil saith unto me, Thou art a sinner: No, saith St. John, the Lamb of God hath taken away thy sins. Item, *Habentes igitur pontificem magnum qui penetravit calos, Jesum Filium Dei, accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ, ut consequamur misericordiam*, “We therefore having a great high Priest, which hath passed through the heavens, even Jesus the Son of God, let us with boldness go unto the seat of his grace, that we may obtain mercy, (Heb. iv.) O it is a comfortable thing that we have an access unto God. Isaiah saith, *In labore ejus sanati sumus*, “The pain of our punishment was laid upon him, and with his stripes are we healed, (cap. liii.) Further, in the New Testament we read, *Huic omnes prophetæ testimonium perhibent remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen ejus omnes qui credunt in eum*, “Unto the same bear all prophets witness, that, all they do receive forgiveness of sins by his name, which believe on him.” (Acts x.)

Now you see how ye be remedied from your sins, you hear how you shall withstand the devil, when he will withdraw you from prayer. Let us therefore not give over prayer, but stick unto it; let us rather believe Christ our Saviour, than the devil, which was a liar from the beginning. You know now how you may prevent him, how you may put him off, and avoid his temptations.

There is one other addition afore we come to the petitions, which doth much confirm our faith, and increase the same; *Qui es in celis*, “which art in heaven.” These words put

diversity between the heavenly Father, and our temporal fathers. There be some temporal fathers which would fain help their children, but they cannot, they be not able to help them. Again, there be some fathers which are rich, and might help their children, but they be so unnatural they will not help them. But our heavenly Father, in that we call him Father, we learn that he will help, that he beareth a fatherly love towards us.

"In heaven :" here we learn that he is able to help us, to give us all good things necessary to soul and body; and is mighty to defend us from all ill and peril. So it appeareth that he is a Father which will help, and that he being celestial, which is able to help us. Therefore we may have a boldness and confidence, that he may help us ; and that he will help us, where and whensoever we call : he saith, *Calum et terram impleo*, "I fill heaven and earth." And again, *Calum mihi sedes est, et terra scabellum pedum meorum*, "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool," (Isa. lxvi.) Where we see, that he is a mighty God ; that he is in heaven and earth, with his power and might. In heaven he is apparently, where face to face he sheweth himself unto his angels and saints. In earth he is not so apparently, but darkly, and obscurely he exhibiteth himself unto us ; for our corrupt and evil flesh could not bear his Majesty. Yet he filleth the earth ; that is to say, he ruleth and governeth the same, ordering all things according unto his will and pleasure. Therefore we must learn to persuade ourselves, and undoubtedly believe that he is able to help : and that he beareth a good and fatherly will towards us ; that he will not forget us. Therefore the king and prophet David saith, *Dominus de calo prospexit*, "The Lord hath seen down from heaven." (Psal. liii.) As far as the earth is from the heaven, yet God looketh down, he seeth all things, he is in every corner. He saith, the Lord hath looked down, not the saints. No, he saith not so : for the saints have not so sharp eyes to see down from heaven : they be pur-blind, and sand-blind, they cannot see so far, nor have not so long ears to hear. And therefore our petition and prayer should be unto him, which will hear and can hear. For it is the Lord that looketh down. He is here in earth, as I told you, very darkly ; but he is in

heaven most manifestly ; where he sheweth himself unto his angels and saints face to face. We read in Scripture that Abel's blood did cry unto God : (Gen. iv.) Where it appeareth that he can hear, yea, not only hear, but also see, and feel ; for he seeth over all things, so that the least thought of our hearts is not hid from him.

Therefore ponder and consider these words well, for they fortify our faith. We call him " Father," to put ourselves in remembrance of his good-will towards us. " Heavenly," we call him, signifying his might and power, that he may help and do all things according to his will and pleasure. So it appeareth most manifestly, that there lacketh neither good-will, nor power in him.

There was once a prophet, which, when he was ill entreated of King Joash, said, *Dominus videat et requitat*, " The Lord look upon it, and requite it." (2 Chron. xxiv.) There be many men in England, and other where else, which care not for God, yea they be clean without God ; which say in their hearts ; *Nubes latibulum ejus, nec nostra considerat, et circa cardines cali ambulat*, " Tush, the clouds cover him that he may not see, and he dwelleth above in heaven." (Job xxii.) But as I told you before, Abel's blood may certify of his present knowledge. Let us therefore take heed that we do nothing that might displease his Majesty, neither openly nor secretly : for he is every where, and nothing can be hid from him ; *Videt et requitet*, " He seeth, and will punish it."

Further, this word " Father," is not only apt and convenient for us to strengthen our faith withal, as I told you, but also it moveth God the sooner to hear us when we call him by that name, Father. For he perceiving our confidence in him, cannot choose but shew him like a Father. So that this word Father, is most meet to move God to pity and to grant our requests. Certain it is, and proved by Holy Scripture, that God hath a fatherly and loving affection towards us, far passing the love of bodily parents to their children. Yea, as far as heaven and earth is asunder, so far his love towards mankind exceedeth the love of natural parents to their children ; which love is set out by the mouth of his holy prophet Isaiah, where he saith, *Num oblivioni tradet mulier infantem*.

suum, quo minus misereatur filii uteri sui? si esto obliviscatur illæ, ego tamen tui non obliviscar, “Can a wife forget the child of her womb, and the son whom she hath borne? And though she do forget him, yet will not I forget thee,” (chap. xl ix.) Here are shewed the affections and unspeakable love, which God beareth towards us. He saith, *Nunquid potest mulier?* “May a woman?” He speaketh of the woman, meaning the man too; but because women most commonly are more affected towards their children than men be, therefore he nameth the woman. And it is a very unnatural woman that hateth her child, or neglecteth the same. But, O Lord, what crafts and conveyances useth the devil abroad, that he can bring his matters so to pass, that some women set aside not only all motherly affections, but also all natural humanity, insomuch that they kill their own children, their own blood and flesh!

I was a late credibly informed of a priest, which had taken in hand to be a midwife. O what an abominable thing is this! But what followed? he ordered the matter so, that the poor innocent was lost in the mean season. Such things the devil can bring to pass, but what then? God saith, Though a woman do forget her children, though they kill them, yet will I not forget thee, saith the Lord God Almighty. Truth it is, there be some women very unnatural and unkind, which shall receive their punishments of God for it; but for all that, we ought to beware and not to believe every tale told unto us, and so rashly judge. I know what I mean. There hath been a late such tales spread abroad and most untruly; such false tale-tellers shall have a grievous punishment of the Lord, when he shall come to reward every one according unto his deserts.

Here I have occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for God's word sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge, for I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge: and he came to

me afterward in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his confession. I did so; and to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such fooleries.

Now after I had been acquainted with him, I went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower at Cambridge, for he was ever visiting prisoners and sick folk. So we went together, and exhorted them as well as we were able to do; moving them to patience, and to acknowledge their faults. Among other prisoners, there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and steadfastly denied, and could not be brought to confess the act; which denying gave us occasion to search for the matter, and so we did. And at the length we found that her husband loved her not, and therefore he sought means to make her out of the way. The matter was thus: A child of hers had been sick by the space of a year, and so decayed as it were in a consumption. At the length it died in harvest-time. She went to her neighbours and other friends to desire their help, to prepare the child to the burial; but there was nobody at home, every man was in the field. The woman, in an heaviness and trouble of spirit, went, and being herself alone, prepared the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, not having great love towards her, accused her of the murder, and so she was taken and brought to Cambridge. But as far forth as I could learn, through earnest inquisition, I thought in my conscience the woman was not guilty, all the circumstances well considered.

Immediately after this, I was called to preach before the King, which was my first sermon that I made before his Majesty, and it was done at Windsor; where his Majesty after the sermon was done, did most familiarly talk with me in a gallery. Now when I saw my time, I kneeled down before his Majesty, opening the whole matter, and afterwards most humbly desired his Majesty to pardon that woman. For I thought in my conscience she was not guilty; else I would not for all the world sue for a murderer. The king most graciously heard my humble request, insomuch that I had a pardon ready for her at my return homeward. In the

mean season, that woman was delivered of a child in the tower at Cambridge, whose godfather I was, and Mistress Cheke* was godmother. But all that time I hid my pardon, and told her nothing of it, only exhorting her to confess the truth. At the length the time came when she looked to suffer; I came as I was wont to do, to instruct her; she made great moan to me, and most earnestly required me that I would find the means that she might be purified afore her suffering; for she thought she should have been damned, if she should suffer without purification. Where Master Bilney and I told her that that law was made unto the Jews, and not unto us; and that women lying in child-bed be not unclean afore God, neither is purification used to that end, that it should cleanse from sin; but rather a civil and politic law, made for natural honesty sake; signifying, that a woman before the time of her purification, that is to say, as long as she is a green woman, is not meet to do such acts as other women, nor to have company with her husband: for it is against natural honesty, and against the commonwealth: to that end purification is kept and used, not to make a superstition, or holiness of it, as some do; which think that they may not fetch either fire or any thing in that house where there is a green woman; which opinion is erroneous and wicked. For women, as I said afore, be as well in the favour of God afore they be purified as after. So we travailed with this woman till we brought her to a good trade; and at the length shewed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This tale I told you by this occasion, that though some women be very unnatural, and forget their children, yet when we hear any body so report, we should not be too hasty in believing the tale, but rather suspend our judgments till we know the truth.

And again, we shall mark hereby the great love and loving-kindness of God our loving Father, who sheweth himself so loving unto us, that notwithstanding women forget sometimes their own natural children, yet he will not forget us; he will hear us when we call upon him; as he saith by the Evangelist Matthew, " Ask, and it shall be given unto you; seek, and

* This lady was the mother of Sir John Cheke, the learned tutor of Edward the Sixth.

ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," &c. (chap. vii.) Then he cometh and bringeth in a pretty similitude, saying, "Is there any man amongst you, which if his son ask bread, will offer him a stone? If ye then," *cum sitis mali*, "being evil, can give your children good gifts," &c. In these words, where he saith, *cum sitis mali*, "which be evil," he giveth us our own proper name, he painteth us out, he pincheth us, he cutteth off our combs, he plucketh down our stomachs. And here we learn to acknowledge ourselves to be wicked, and to know him to be the well-spring and fountain of all goodness, and that all good things come of him. Therefore let every man think lowly of himself, humble himself and call upon God, which is ready to give us, not only bread and drink, or other necessaries, but the Holy Ghost. To whom will he give the Holy Ghost? To lords and ladies, to gentlemen or gentlewomen? No, not so; he is not ruled by affections; he hath not respect unto personages: *Poscentibus*, saith he, "unto those which call upon him," being rich or poor, lords or knights, beggars or rich; he is ready to give unto them when they come to him. And this is a great comfort unto those which be poor and miserable in this world; for they may be assured of the help of God, yea, and as boldly go unto him, and desire his help, as the greatest king in earth. But we must ask, we must inquire for it; he would have us to be importune, to be earnest and diligent in desiring, then we shall receive, when we come with a good faith and confidence. To whom shall we call? Not unto the saints. *Poscentibus illum*, (saith he,) Those that call upon him, shall be heard. Therefore we ought to come to him only, and not unto the saints.

But one word is left, which we must needs consider; *Noster*, "our," he saith not *my*, but *our*; wherefore saith he "our?" This word "our," teacheth us to consider that the Father of heaven is a common Father, as well my neighbour's Father as mine; as well the poor man's Father as the rich: so that he is not a peculiar Father, but a Father to the whole church and congregation, to all the faithful, be they never so poor, so vile, so foul and despised; yet he is their Father as well as mine: and therefore I should not despise them, but consider that God is their Father as well as mine,

Here may we perceive what communion is between us; so that when I pray, I pray not for myself alone, but for all the rest: Again, when they pray, they pray not for themselves only, but for me: for Christ hath so framed this prayer, that I must needs include my neighbour in it. Therefore all those which pray this prayer, they pray as well for me as for themselves; which is a great comfort to every faithful heart, when he considereth that all the church prayeth for him. For amongst such a great number there be some which be good, and whose prayer God will hear. As it appeared by Abraham's prayer, which prayer was so effectuous, that God would have pardoned Sodom and Gomorrah, if he might have found but ten good persons therein. (Gen. xviii.) Likewise St. Paul in shipwreck preserved his company by his prayer, (Acts xxvii.) So that it is a great comfort unto us to know that all good and faithful persons pray for us.

There be some learned men which gather out of scripture that the prayer of St. Stephen was the occasion of the conversion of St. Paul, (Acts vii.) St. Chrysostom saith, that that prayer that I make for myself is the best, and is of more efficacy than that which is made in common. Which saying I like not very well. For our Saviour was better learned than St. Chrysostom. He taught us to pray in common for all; therefore we ought to follow him, and to be glad to pray one for another: for we have a common saying among us, Whosoever loveth me, loveth my hound. So, whosoever loveth God, will love his neighbour, which is made after the image of God.

And here is to be noted, that prayer hath one property before all other good works: for with my alms I help but one or two at once, but with my faithful prayer I help all. I desire God to comfort all men living, but specially *domesticos fidei*, "those which be of the household of faith:" Yet we ought to pray with all our hearts for the other, which believe not, that God will turn their hearts and renew them with his Spirit; yea, our prayer reacheth so far, that our very capital enemy ought not to be omitted.

Here you see what an excellent thing prayer is, when it proceedeth from a faithful heart, it doth far pass all the good works that men can do.

Now to make an end, we are monished here of charity, and taught, that God is not only a private Father, but a common Father unto the whole world, unto all faithful: be they never so poor and miserable in this world, yet he is their Father. Where we may learn humility and lowness, specially great and rich men shall learn here not to be lofty or to despise the poor. For when ye despise the poor miserable man, whom despise ye? ye despise him which calleth God his Father as well as you; and peradventure more acceptable, and more regarded in his sight than you be. Those proud persons may learn here to leave their stubbornness and loftiness. But there be a great many which little regard this; they think themselves better than other men be, and so despise and contemn the poor; insomuch that they will not hear poor men's causes, nor defend them from wrong and oppression of the rich and mighty. Such proud men despise the Lord's prayer; they should be as careful for their brethren, as for themselves. And such humility, such love and carefulness towards our neighbours, we learn by this word "Our." Therefore I desire you on God's behalf, let us cast away all disdainfulness, all proudness, yea, and all bibble-babble. Let us pray this prayer with understanding and great deliberation, not following the trade of monkery, which was without all devotion and understanding. There be but few which can say from the bottom of their hearts, "Our Father:" a little number. Neither the Turks, neither the Jews, nor yet the impenitent sinners, can call God their Father. Therefore it is but vain babbling whatsoever they pray: God heareth them not, he will not receive their prayers. The promise of hearing is made unto them only which be faithful and believe in God, which endeavour themselves to live according unto his commandments. For scripture saith, *Oculi Domini super justos*, "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears open unto their prayers." (Ps. xxxiii.)

But who are those righteous? Every penitent sinner that is sorry from the bottom of his heart for his wickedness, and believeth that God will forgive him his sins, for his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. This is called in scripture "a just man," that endeavoureth himself to leave all wickedness. In such sort Peter and Paul were just, because they

did repent, and believed in Christ, and so endeavoured themselves to live according unto God's laws. Therefore like as they were made just before God, so may we too; for we have even the self-same promise. Let us therefore follow their ensample, let us forsake all sins and wickedness, then God will hear our prayers. For scripture saith, *Dominus facit quicquid volunt timentes eum, et clamorem eorum exaudit ac servat eos*: “The Lord fulfilleth the desire of them that fear him: he also will hear their cry, and help them;” (Ps. cxlv.) In another place he saith, *Si manseritis in sermone meo, et verba mea custodi veritis quicquid volueritis petentes accipietis*, “If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask what ye will, and it shall be done for you.” So we see, that the promises pertain only to the faithful, to those which endeavour themselves to live according to God's will and pleasure, which can be content to leave their wickedness, and follow godliness; those God will hear at all times, whensoever they shall call upon him.

Remember now what I have said; remember what is meant by this word “Our,” namely, that it admonisheth us of love and charity, it teacheth us to beware of stubbornness and proudness; considering that God loveth as well the beggar as the rich man, for he regardeth no persons. Again, what is to be understood by this word “Father;” namely, that he beareth a good will towards us, that he is ready and willing to help us: “Heavenly,” that admonisheth us of his potency and ability, that he is ruler over all things: This, I say, remember, and follow it; then we shall receive all things necessary for this life, and finally, everlasting joy and felicity. Amen. Let us pray, “Our Father,” &c.

THE
SECOND SERMON
UPON
THE LORD'S PRAYER.
MADE BY MASTER LATIMER.

MATTHEW vi. 9.

Sanctificatur nomen tuum.

Hallowed be thy name.

THESE few words contain the first petition of the Lord's prayer: the other words which go before this, be no part of this petition, but rather an introduction unto these petitions: and they be like a preface, or learned entrance to the matter, that the petitions might be the sooner and with more favour heard. For our Saviour being a perfect schoolmaster, as a learned and an expert orator, teacheth us, how we should begin our prayer that we might be speedily heard, and how to get favour at God's hand.

I have a manner of teaching which is very tedious to them that be learned. I am wont ever to repeat those things which I have said before, which repetitions are nothing pleasant to the learned; but it is no matter, I care not for them; I seek more the profit of those which be ignorant, than to please learned men. Therefore I oftentimes repeat such things which be needful for them to know; for I would speak so that they might be edified withal.

I spake some things this day in the commendation of this prayer: and first I told you, that it was our Saviour's own making and handwork, which is a perfect schoolmaster, put in authority by God the heavenly Father himself, which saith, *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacitum est, ipsum audite,* " This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I have pleasure, hear him." (Matt. xvii.)

This prayer is a perfect prayer, an abridgment and compendious sum of all other prayers. There is nothing that we have need of, neither to our souls or bodies, but it is contained in some of these petitions; nor nothing that God promiseth in his word to give us, but it is expressed in one of these seven petitions.

I shewed you this day why we call God, Father; namely, because he beareth a loving and fatherly heart towards us. It is a sweet word, "Father;" and a word that pleaseth God much when it is spoken with a faithful heart, which above all things God requireth. This word Father moveth God's affection in a manner towards us, so that he hearing the word Father, cannot choose but shew himself a Father indeed. So that it is a word profitable to us in God's behalf, and again for our own-selves. For it moveth God to pity, and also helpeth our faith: So that we doubt not, but that we shall find him a Father, which will grant our requests and petitions made unto him in the name of Christ. Now what crafts and conveyances the devil useth to withdraw and let us from prayer, I told you to day aforenoon. If you exercise prayers, you shall find the temptations of the devil, for he sleepeth not: he ever intendeth to withdraw us from prayer. But I told you what remedy you shall use against him; how you shall strive against him, namely, with faith, believing that our Saviour hath taken away our sins, so that they cannot hurt us. For they be no sins in the sight of God; for he hath taken away both the guiltiness of sins, and the pains and punishments which follow sins. Christ hath deserved that those which believe in him shall be quit from all their sins. These benefits of Christ are set out in scripture in many places; and these be the weapons wherewith we must fight against the devil and his illusions; not with holy water; for I tell you, the devil is not afraid of holy water. It is Christ that hath gotten the victory over him, it is he that vanquisheth the serpent's head, and not holy water.

Further, in that we call him "Father," his will and fatherly affections are expressed; that we call him "heavenly Father," his might and power, his omnipotency is expounded unto us. So that you perceive that he is both loving and kind towards us; that he beareth a good-will, and also is able to help, able to defend us from all our enemies, spiritual and temporal.

Therefore let us put our trust and confidence in him ; let us not despair of his help, seeing he is so loving, kind, and gentle, towards us, and then so mighty, that he hath all things in his hands. This affection and love towards us, passeth all motherly affections. And here I brought in to-day, a woman which was accused that she should have killed her child : I told you what business good Master Bilney and I had with her, afore we could bring her to a good trade. For she thought herself to be damned if she should suffer before her purification. There I told you, that purification is continued in the church of God, for natural honesty's sake, that man and wife should not company together afore that time ; and not to that end, that it should cleanse from sin ; for there is nothing that cleanseth from sin, neither in heaven nor in earth, saving only the blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ.

For how can a woman having company with her husband, and bringing forth children according unto God's injunction ; how can she be made an heathen woman, doing nothing but that God hath commanded her to do ? Therefore against such foolish opinions that women have, thinking themselves out of the favour of God, lying in childbed, I spake to-day, and told you how that it is no offence afore God ; only let every man and wife take heed and use themselves honestly ; for a man may sin deadly with his own wife, if he, contrary to God's order misuse her.

Further, you have heard how the good-will of God towards us is set out by this word "Father," and his power and omnipotency by this word "heavenly ;" but I would have you to consider well this word "our ;" for it is a great help unto us, and strengtheneth much our faith, so that we may be assured that every good man in the whole world will pray for us and with us, whilst we have one Father and one manner of prayer. And this word "our," putteth us in remembrance that we be brethren in Christ : where we be admonished to despise no man, be he never so miserable or poor ; for we have all one Father, which hath made us all of one metal of earth. So that the highest prince in the world is made as well of earth as the poorest ; and so shall turn into the same again, as well as the poorest shepherd. Let those proud persons mark this well, which be ever ready to despise every man. Such proud per-

sons say never the Lord's prayer with good mind ; yea, God is not their Father : for he abhorreth all proudness. Therefore such stubborn fellows when they will pray, they should not say, "Our Father which art in heaven ;" but rather, Our father which art in hell. God is their father, as concerning their substance ; for he giveth them souls and bodies ; but they make themselves the members of the devil, contrary unto God's will and pleasure.

Therefore set aside all arrogance and proudness, likewise all superstitious and hypocritical babbling, speaking many words to little purpose. As I heard say of some lawyers, which babble and prate, and pretend a great diligence and earnest desire to defend the poor man's cause ; but in their hearts they be false, they seek money and nothing else ; so that their hearts and mouth disagree. Let us I say, not follow such lawyers, let us not make a shew of holiness with much babbling ; for God hath no pleasure in it ; therefore away with it : yea, not alone with this, but with all that may let us in our prayer ; set it aside, and come reverently to talk with God ; like as when you go to the communion, you must be prepared unto it, you must be in charity with your neighbour ; so likewise, when you will talk with God, and pray to him, you must be prepared.

Here you may perceive, that all those persons that will not be corrected for their faults, that cannot bear godly admonitions, they talk never with God to his pleasure ; they be not ruled by God's Spirit, and so not meet for him : all rebellious persons, all blood-thirsty persons, all covetous persons, all lecherous persons, all liars, drunkards, and such like, be not in the case to talk with God. God will not hear them, he cannot abide them, they stink before his face, as long as they come before him with such abominable sins, not intending to leave them. Remember now what a doctrine is contained in this preface, weigh it ; for it is better to say it sententiously one time, than to run it over an hundred times with humbling and mumbling.

Now when we have begun as we ought to do, what shall we desire ? *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, "Hallowed be thy name." Thy name "Father," be hallowed, sanctified, be magnified. What is this ? What meant our Saviour when he commandeth

us that we shall desire that God's name be hallowed? There is a great number of people which speak these words with their mouth, but not with their hearts contrary to that saying, *Quicquid petimus ardenter petamus, tanquam cupientes habere.* But they say it without knowledge, therefore they say it not; *ut oportet*, that is, as they ought to do. "Thy name:" we require not that his name may be hallowed in him; for this is already done without our prayer: but we desire that he will give us grace, and assist us, that we in all our doings throughout our life may sanctify his name.

And here we are admonished again of love and charity; for when we say, "Hallowed be thy name," we ask in all men's names; where we may perceive what communion and fellowship is between the faithful flock of God; for every faithful man and woman requireth, that the whole church may hallow and sanctify God's word.

What is it to be hallowed? We desire that the name of God may be revealed, opened, manifested, and credited throughout all the world. What is God's name? Marry all that is spoken of him in holy scripture, that is his name. He is called, *Clemens*, "Gracious;" *Misericors*, "Merciful;" *Justus*, "Righteous;" *Puniens iniquitatem*, "A punisher of wickedness;" *Verax*, "True;" *Omnipotens*, "Almighty;" *Longanimis*, "Long-suffering, patient;" *Fortis*, "Hardy;" *Ignis consumens*, "A consuming fire;" *Rex omnis terræ*, "the King over the whole earth;" *Judex*, "A Judge;" *Salvator*, "A Saviour." These and such like are the names of God*. Now when I make my petition unto him, saying, "Hallowed be thy name;" I desire that his name may be revealed, that we may know what scripture speaketh of him, and so believe that same, and live after it. I do not desire that his name be hallowed of himself, for it needeth not; he is holy already. But I desire that he will give us his Spirit, that we may express him in all our doings, and conversations; so that it may appear by our deeds that God is even such one indeed as scripture doth report him. We are tried many times whether his name be hallowed amongst us or no; he sendeth us trouble

* What the name of God is, see Exod. ix. Zech. ix. Rom. iii. Jer. x. Joshua iv. Deut. iv. Psal. xlvi. Nehem. ix. Exod. xxii. Jer. l. Gen. xviii. Exod. xv. Psal. xviii. Psal. vii. Psal. xlvi. Isaiah xii.

and adversities to prove us, whether we wil hallow his name or no ; but he findeth us clean contrary. For some of us, when we be in trouble, do run hither and thither to sorcerers and wizards to get remedy ; some again swear and curse ; but such fellows hallow not the name of God ; but God is *Vindex severus*, "A sharp punisher," he will punish sin, and those which blaspheme his holy name.

I heard of late that there be some wicked persons, despisers of God and his benefits, which say, it is no matter whatsoever we do ; we be baptized ; we cannot be damned ; for all those that be baptized, and be called Christians, shall be saved. This is a false and wicked opinion ; and I assure you that such which bear the name of Christians, and be baptized, but follow not God's commandments ; that such fellows, I say, be worse than the Turks and Heathen : for the Turks and Heathen have made no promise unto Christ to serve him. These fellows have made promise in baptism to keep Christ's rule, which thing they do not ; and therefore they be worse than the Turks. For they break their promise made before God, and the whole congregation. And therefore such Christians be most wicked, perjured persons ; and not only be perjured, but they go about to make God a liar, so much as lieth in them.

There be some again, which when they be in trouble they call upon God ; but he cometh not by and by, minding to prove their patience ; they perceiving he cometh not at the first call, give over by and by, they will no more call upon him. Do they believe now, think ye ? Do they sanctify God's holy name ? God promiseth in his holy word, *Onnis qui petit*, " Every one that calleth or that desireth help of me shall have it." (Matt. vii.) Again, *Invoca me in die tribulationis, et exaudiam te, et glorificabis me*, " Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee ; and thou shalt praise me." Ps. xlix. Likewise St. Paul saith, *Fidelis est Deus, qui non patietur vos tentari, supra id quod potestis*, " God is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye be able." (1 Cor. x.) Now when we give over prayer being in trouble, do we sanctify the name of God ? No, no ; we slander and blaspheme his holy name ; we make him a liar, as much as lieth in us. For he saith, *Eripiam te*, " I will deliver thee, I will help thee." We will

call no more ; for we say, he will not help. So we make him and his word a liar. Therefore God saith to Moses and Aaron, *Quandoquidem non credidistis mihi, ut sanctificaretis me coram filiis Israël non introducetis cætum istum in terram quæ dedi eis,* “ Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the sight of the children of Israel, therefore you shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them.” (Num. xx.) Where it appeareth what it is to hallow God’s name, that is, to believe his words, to shew ourselves that he is true in his doings and sayings. He saith further, *A terrore ejus ne formidetis, neque animo frangimini quin potius Dominum exercituum ipsum sanctificare,* “ Fear them not, neither be afraid of them, but sanctify the Lord of Hosts.” (Ezra viii.)

Here you see what it is to sanctify his name ; that is, to believe that all things be true that be spoken of him ; that is, to believe that our enemies be not able to go further than it pleaseth God. And so did the Apostles when they suffered for God’s sake, they believed that God would do with them according to his word and promise. And so they sanctified God ; that is, they declared with their acts and deeds, that God is a true and faithful God. This did the martyrs of God ; this did the three young men which would not worship the idol set up by the king, and therefore were cast into the burning oven, to which pain they were willing to go. “ We know, said they, that God is able to help and defend us, when it pleaseth him.” (Dan. iii.)

So must we likewise offer ourselves unto the cross, content to suffer whatsoever he shall lay upon us. We may call upon him, and desire his help ; but we may not appoint unto him wise and way, how he shall help, and by what means ; neither may we appoint him any time, but only sanctify his name, that is, to call upon him for deliverance, not doubting but when it is to his honour and our profit to be delivered, that he will help. But if he help not, but let us suffer death, happy are we ; for then we be delivered from all trouble. And so these three young men sanctified the name of God ; they believed that God was a helper : and so, according to their belief he helped them ; marvellously shewing his power, and defending them from the power of the fire.

In such wise did Achior, that good man, when Holophernes, that sturdy captain, made great brags what he would do, and how he would handle the Jews. This Achior, knowing God, and believing him to be the ruler over heaven and earth, stept forward, and said to Holophernes : " If this people have done wickedness in the sight of their God, then let us go up against them ; but if this people have not displeased their God, we shall not be able to withstand them ; for God shall defend them." (Judith iv.) Here this Achior shewed himself to believe that which was spoken of God in scripture ; namely, that God would be a deliverer and defender of those which believe in him. But for all that he suffered ; being before a great and mighty captain, he was now handled like a wild beast ; but what then ? Happy are those that suffer for God's sake. The prophet saith, *Commenda Domino viam tuam, et ipse faciet,* " Commit thy way unto the Lord, and he shall bring it to pass ;" (Ps. xxiv.) that is to say, when thou art in trouble, call upon the Lord, believe in him ; and if it be good for thee, he will deliver thee : so to sanctify God's name, is to believe in him.

Lady Judith, that good, godly, and holy woman, sanctified the name of the Lord. For she and her people being in great distress and misery, she put her hope in God ; she fasted and prayed devoutly, and afterward being moved or monished by a secret admonition, was not afraid to put herself in great danger, insomuch, that she took i n hand, being a woman, to kill the great captain of whom all men were afraid, Holophernes ; I say, she was not afraid of him. I trow she rebuked the priests, which would appoint God a time ; as who say, He shall be no more my God, except he come by that time ; which was very wickedly done of them. For we ought to be at his pleasure, whensoever and whatsoever he will do with us ; we ought to be content withal. If we were earnest and zealous as we should be, O how hot we would be in promoting God's honour, and sanctifying his name ! We would nor could not suffer that any body should go about to dishonest the holy name of God. But we be very cold, we care not for his honour ; we ought to be patient in our own quarrel, when any body doth us wrong, we ought to bear and forbear it ; but in God's behalf we ought to be hot and earnest to defend his honour, as much as lieth in us to do. But it is

clean contrary with us ; for in our own quarrel we be as hot as coals ; but in God's cause, for his honour, we care not, we regard it as nothing, whereas it ought most above all to be regarded : for God he is just, righteous, faithful, and kind ; and therefore we ought to take his part. But nothing maketh more for the sanctifying of God's holy name, than to be thankful for such gifts as we receive at his hands.

And this hallowing standeth in all things that may make for the furtherance of God's honour. To hear God's word, and highly to esteem the same, that is a hallowing of God's name. How hallow now those the name of God, which refuse to hear the word of God, or for lack of preachers cannot hear it ? And how can they believe, when they hear it not ? Therefore they that do somewhat for the furtherance of learning, for maintaining of schools and scholars, they sanctify God's holy name. As for those preachers which have been in my time, they go away. How shall now this office of preaching, the office of salvation, how shall it be maintained, except there be made some provision for the same ? Here I could say much against those which let that office, which withdraw the goods wherewith schools should be maintained, and take it to themselves ; but my audience is not thereafter. This office of preaching is the office of salvation ; for St. Paul saith, *Visum est Deo per stultitiam predicationis salvos facere credentes*, " It hath pleased God to save the believers by the foolishness of preaching." (1 Cor. i.) How can they then believe, but by and through the office of preaching ? preachers are Christ's vicars : *legatione funguntur pro Deo*, " They are Christ's ambassadors." St. Paul saith, *Evangelium est potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti*, " The gospel is the power of God unto salvation, for every believer ;" it is the mighty instrument o God.

When we say, " Hallowed be thy name ;" we desire God that he through his goodness, will remove and put away all things that may let and stop the honour of his name. But I fear me there be many which would not that it should be so. We desire here that God will remove all infidelity ; we require that all witchcrafts be removed, that art magic, and sorcery, be pulled out ; negromancy * taken away : and so nothing left but

* The same as necromancy, sometimes called the black art : a species of enchantment by pretending to raise the dead.

his holy word, wherewith we may daily praise the name of God. For I fear me there be a great many in England which use such sorceries, to the dishonour of God and their own damnation. We require here further, that all heresy, all popery may be abolished and extinguished. Further we require here, that all wicked living may be amended and reformed. Next we require, that all magistrates may do their duties. Finally, we require, that every man in his vocation may do the work whereunto God hath called him.

There be many vocations: The magistrate's vocation is to see that the commonwealth be well ordered; to see that the schools be maintained, to see that universities be well furnished, to see that justice be executed, that the wicked be punished, and the good rewarded. *In summa*, to keep every one in good order: This is their duty.

Further, we pray that the priests, the spirituality, or the churchmen, as they call them, do their duties, to preach God's word, to live godly, and to give a good ensample by their conversation; else they do against the honour of God, and their own honesty. Likewise, we pray that servants may do their duties; for to be a servant is an honest estate, and much commended in scripture; and scripture speaketh much to the comfort of them. And truly, those that live in the fear of God, considering that they serve not only their carnal masters, but God himself, they be in a good case; but they may not be eye-servants. St. Paul noteth this fault, and saith, that they shall not be murmurers, nor froward answerers. St. Paul would have them to live so, that they may ornate and sanctify the name of God. For that servant that doth the thing whereunto he is called, he doth adorn his estate; that servant is a good gospeller, that will not be an eye-servant. There be some servants, which do their duties as long as their master is in sight; but as soon as their master is gone, they play the lubbers. Unto such fellows I say, beware; for though your bodily master see you not, yet your great Master, God, seeth you, and will punish you. *Quod agis, toto pectore agito*, "What thou doest, do it from the bottom of thy heart," (Col. iii.) with a good will; go not away with the devil's *Pater-noster*, as some do; do all things with a good mind.

For I tell you, you be not forgotten in scripture; you are much commended in the same. St. Paul speaketh very honourably of you, saying, *Domino Christo servitis*, " You serve the Lord Christ." it becometh not you to put a difference what business you be commanded to do. For whatsoever it be, do it with a good-will, and it is God's service. Therefore you ought to do it, in respect that God would have you to do so ; for I am no more assured in my preaching that I serve God than the servant is in doing such business as he is commanded to do ; scouring the candlesticks, or whatsoever it be. Therefore, for God's sake, consider the matter. Some of you think, if Christ were here, you would go with him and serve him. I tell you, when you follow your service, and do such things as your master and mistress shall command you, you serve him as well as if he were here bodily. He is not here bodily now, but his word is here. *Domino Christo servitis*, saith St. Paul, " You serve the Lord Christ." Therefore I desire you in God's behalf to walk uprightly, and godly. Consider what God saith unto you ; *Maledictus qui facit opus Domini negligenter*, " Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently." (Jer. xlvi.) This scripture pertaineth to you as well as to me. For when you do your business negligently, you be cursed before the face of God. Therefore consider the goodness of God, that he would have you as well saved as your masters. Surely, methinketh it is a great benefit of God, to be a servant. For those that keep houses, must make account afore God for their family ; they must watch and see that all things be well. But a servant when he can discern what standeth with God's commandment, and what is against it, it is enough for him ; but he must know that he ought not to obey his master or mistress when they would command him to do against God ; in such a case he may refuse and withstand them. For it is written, " We must more obey unto God, than man :" (Acts v.) we should not do against God, to please our masters. Again, masters and mistresses are bound to consider their duties, to pay unto their servants their wages, and meat and drink convenient. For it is a great sin to defraud the labourer of his wages ; for it is written, " The cry of the labourers shall come before the Lord ;" it is a great fault afore

God to defraud them. But there be some servants which be so wicked, that they will complain without a cause, when they cannot have that that they would have, nor bear all the rule themselves. But I say, it is a great thing for a master to defraud his servant; and again, the servant which hath his whole wages, and doth but half his work, or is a sluggard, that same fellow, I say, is a thief afore God. For like as the master ought to pay the whole wages, so likewise the servant ought to do his whole work.

Here I might have occasion to shew how man and wife ought to live together, how they ought to be faithful, loving, and friendly one to the other; how the man ought not to despise the wife, considering that she is partaker with him of everlasting life. Therefore the man ought, *cohabitetur*, "to dwell with her;" which is a great thing. Again, see how the woman ought to behave herself towards her husband, how faithful she ought to be. Now when they both yield their duties the one to the other, then they sanctify the name of God; but when they do contrary to their calling, then they slander the holy name of God. Therefore let every man and woman walk in their vocations.

We must have a good and earnest mind and will to sanctify the name of God; for that person that prayeth, and desireth of God that his name may be hallowed, and yet hath no will nor pleasure to do it indeed, this is not the right sanctifying of the name of God. St. Peter teacheth us how we shall sanctify God's name, saying, "*Conversationem inter gentes habentes bonam*, "Have a good and holy conversation, live uprightly in your calling; so that your light may so shine before men that they may see your good works, and so glorify God."

I will trouble you no longer; it is better a little well perceived and borne away, than a great deal heard and left behind. Consider wherefore our Saviour commandeth us to call God "Our Father," then afterward weigh this, "which art in heaven." Then come to the petition; "Hallowed be thy name;" weigh and consider this. For now is the time wherein the name of God should be hallowed: for it is a pitiful thing to see what rule and dominion the devil beareth, how shameless men be; how the name of God is brought in derision. Therefore let us say from the bottom of our heart,

sanctificetur, “ hallowed :” that is to say, Lord God, through thy goodness remove all wickedness ; give us grace to live uprightly. And so consider every word ; for it is better one word spoken with good affection, than an hundred without it. Yet I do not say this to let you from saying “the whole *Pater-noster* ; but I say, one word well said, is better than a great many else. Read throughout all the scripture, and ye shall find that all faithful men have made but short prayers ; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Hezekiah ; our Saviour himself in the garden saith, *Pater, si possibile est transeat à me calix iste*, “ Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me.” (Matt. xxvi.) This was but a short prayer.

So likewise St. Stephen saith, *Pater, ignosce illis quia nesciunt quid faciunt*. The publican praying in the temple made but a short prayer ; saying, *Propitius esto mihi peccatori*, “ Lord, be merciful unto me a sinner.” (Luke xviii.) So the thief hanging upon the cross, saith, *Domine, memento mei cum veneris in regnum tuum*, “ Lord, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom.” (Luke xxiii.) Here was not much babbling. But I speak not this to dissuade you from long prayer, when the spirit and the affections do serve ; for our Saviour himself spent a whole night in prayer.

Sanctificetur, “ Hallowed be thy name ;” that is to say, Lord, remove away thy dishonour, remove away sin, move them that be in authority to do their duties, move the man and wife to live rightly, move servants to do well. And so it should be a great grief unto us when we should see any body dis honour the name of God, insomuch that we should cry out, “ Our Father, hallowed be thy name.” This one thing bear away with you above all others ; consider that when we will come to God and talk with him, we must be penitent sinners, we must abhor sins, purpose to leave them, and to live uprightly ; which grant us, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

THE
THIRD SERMON
UPON
THE LORD'S PRAYER,
MADE BY MASTER LATIMER.

MATTHEW vi. 10.

Adveniat regnum tuum.

Thy kingdom come.

THIS is the second petition of the Lord's prayer. I trust you have not forgotten your two lessons before rehearsed unto you. First, the beginning of the Lord's prayer, what a treasure of doctrine is contained in every word. "Our," what it signifieth. "Father," what it meaneth; and then this addition, "which art in heaven." How many things is to be noted by every one of those words: and I trust also you have remembered the contents of the first petition, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*, "Hallowed be thy name." Here I told you wherein standeth the holiness of his name, and what it meaneth, namely, we require that his name may be sanctified in us, that is to say, we require that all our conversations may be to the honour of God, which followeth when we endeavour ourselves to do his pleasure, when we hear his word with great diligence and earnest reverence, and so walk in the works of our vocation, every man whereunto God hath appointed him. And because the word of God is the instrument and fountain of all good things, we pray to God for the continuance of his word, that he will send godly and well learned men amongst us, which may be able to declare us his will and pleasure. So that we may glorify him in the hour of our visitation, when God shall visit us, and reward every one according unto his desert.

One thing we must well consider and not forget it, namely, that our Saviour teacheth us to pray and desire of God that his

name may be hallowed. Where he painteth us in our own colour, and would have us to confess our own imperfections, that we be not able to do any thing according to God's will, except we receive it first at his hands. Therefore he teacheth us to pray, that God will make us able to do all things according to his will and pleasure.

Adveniat regnum tuum: This is our request, "Thy kingdom come:" Thou Father, we beseech thee let thy kingdom come to us. Here we pray that the kingdom of God come not to one only, but to us all. So that when I say this prayer, I require God that he will let his kingdom come to you as well as to me. Again, when you pray, you pray as well for me as for your own selves. "Let thy kingdom come." You must understand that to speak properly, these words are not to be understood of God's inferior kingdom; of his earthly kingdom, as though it did hang upon our petitions, so that he could not be Lord and ruler over the earth, except we pray for him. No; we pray not for his inferior kingdom to come, for it is come already: he ruleth and governeth all things. He is called in scripture, "*Rex regum,*" "The king above all kings," *Dominus dominantium,* "the Lord above all lords." (Ez. xxvi. 1 Tim. vi.) Therefore he ruleth and governeth all things according to his will and pleasure, as scripture saith, "*Voluntati ejus quis resistet,*" "Who will withstand his will?" (Rom. ix.)

So our Saviour reporteth; saying, *Pater meus operatur usque, modo,* "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work also:" (John v.) what worketh he? he worketh the works of governance. For at the first beginning he did create all things. But he left them not so. He assisteth them, he ruleth them, according to his will. Therefore our Saviour doth not teach us to pray for his worldly kingdom to come; for he ruleth already as Lord and King, yea, and all the kings and rulers rule by him, by his permission, as scripture witnesseth; "*Per me reges regnant,*" "Through me, that is, by my permission, kings reign." (Prov. viii.) I would wish of God that all kings and potentates in the world would consider this well, and so endeavour themselves to use their power to the honour and glory of God, and not to presume in their strength. For this is a good admonition for them, when God saith, *Per me reges*

regnant, “Through me kings do reign:” yea they be so under God's rule, that they can think nothing nor do any thing without God's permission. For it is written, *Cor regis in manu Domini, et quo vult vertit illud*, “The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord, and he turneth the same whithersoever it pleaseth him.” (Prov. ii.) This is good to be considered, and specially subjects should mark this text well, when the rulers be hard, and oppress the people, think ever, “The king's heart is in the governance of God.” Yea, when thou art led to prison, consider that the governor's heart is in the hand of the Lord. Therefore yield obedience, make thy moan unto God, and he will help, and can help. Surely I think there be no place in scripture more pleasant than this: “The heart of the king is in the hand of God;” for it maketh us sure, that no man can hurt us without the permission of God our heavenly Father. For all those great rulers that have been from the beginning of the world till now, have been set up by the appointment of God; and he pulled them down when it pleased him. There have been principally four monarchies in the world; the first were the Babylonians, which had great and many nations underneath them: which was God's ordinance and pleasure, for he suffered them so to do.

After those came the Persians, which were great rulers and mighty kings, as it appeareth by stories written of learned men at that time.

Then came the Greeks and took the dominion from the Persians, and ruled themselves for awhile, till they were plucked down.

At the last came the Romans with their empire, which shall be the last: and therefore it is a token that the end of the world is not far off. But wherefore were those mighty potentates plucked down? marry, for wickedness sake. The Babylonians, Persians, and Grecians, (and a good part of the Romans) were cast down for wickedness sake: what were their doings? They would not execute justice; the magistrates were wicked, lofty, and high-minded: the subjects taking ensample of their magistrates, were wicked too, and so worthy to be punished together. Therefore the wisdom of God saith, *Vidi sub sole in loco judicii impietatem et in loco justitiae iniquitatem*, In the place where poor men ought

to be heard, there have I seen impiety ; I have seen oppression and extortion ; this I have seen. Yea, and in the place of justice, there I have seen bearing and bolstering," (Eccles. iii.) So for these causes' sake, these great emperors were destroyed : so shall we, if we follow their wicked ensamples. Isaiah, that hearty prophet, confirmeth the same, saying, *Expectavi ut facerent judicium, et ecce iniquitas, expectavi ut facerent justitiam, et ecce clamor,* " I looked they should execute justice, defend the good, and punish the ill : but there was nothing but crying." This is a great matter, (*clamor populi*) " the cry of the people :" when subjects be oppressed, so that they cry unto God for deliverance, truly God will hear them ; he will help and deliver them. But it is to be pitied, that the devil beareth so much rule, and so much prevaileth both in magistrates and subjects, insomuch that he beareth almost all the rule ; not that he ought to do so ; for God he is the lawful ruler of the world ; unto him we owe obedience : but the devil is an usurper ; he cometh to his dominion by craft and subtily, and so maketh himself the great ruler over the world. Now, he being the great ruler, would have all the other rulers to go after him, and follow his ensample, which commonly happeneth so. For you know there is a common saying, *Similis simili gaudet,* Like to like : Therefore he useth all homely tricks to make all rulers to go after him : yea, he intendeth to inveigle even very kings, and to make them negligent in their business and office. Therefore such kings and potentates were pulled down, because they followed the instructions of the devil.

But our Saviour speaketh not of such worldly kingdoms, when he teacheth us to say, " Thy kingdom come." For these worldly kingdoms bring us not to worldly felicity ; they be full of all manner of calamities and miseries, death, perditions, and destructions. Therefore the kingdom that he speaketh of, is a spiritual kingdom ; a kingdom where God only beareth the rule, and not the devil. This kingdom is spoken of every where in scripture, and was revealed long ago ; and daily God hath his preachers, which bring us to knowledge of this kingdom. Now we pray here that that kingdom of God may be increased, for it is God's fellowship, they are God's subjects that dwell in that kingdom ; which

kingdom doth consist in righteousness and justice, and it delivereth from all calamities, and miseries, from death and all peril.

And in this petition we pray that God will send unto us his Spirit, which is the leader unto this kingdom; and all those which lack this Spirit shall never come to God. For St. Paul saith, *Qui spiritum Christi non habet, non est ejus*, "Who-soever hath not the Spirit of Christ, he pertaineth not unto him," (Rom. viii.) Likewise our Saviour saith, *Regnum Dei intra nos est*, "The kingdom of God is within you." Signifying, that those which have the Spirit of God shall be sure of that kingdom: yea, it beginneth here in this world with them that be faithful.

The instrument wherewith we be called to this kingdom, is the office of preaching. God calleth us daily by preachers to come to this kingdom, to forsake the kingdom of the devil, to leave all wickedness. For customizable sinners, those that be not content to leave sin, they pertain not to that kingdom; they are under the dominion of the devil, he ruleth them: like as our Saviour saith to the Jews, *Vos ex patre diabolo estis*, "The devil is your father." Item. Also, *Qui facit peccatum ex diabolo est*, "He that doth sin is of the devil." Therefore by this petition we pray, that we may be delivered from all sin and wickedness, from the devil and his power. We desire God, that we may be his subjects, which is a very godly and needful prayer.

Further; by this petition we be put in remembrance what we be, namely, captives of the devil, his prisoners, and bondmen, and not able to come at liberty through our own power. Therefore we desire God's help and aid, as Christ hath taught us to call him Father, he knew his affections, therefore he commandeth us to call him Father, and to desire his help to be delivered out of the kingdom of the devil. Happy are those which are in this kingdom, for they shall lack nothing; and this kingdom cometh to us by preaching; by hearing of God's word. Therefore those that find scholars to school, they are helpers and furtherers toward this kingdom; and truly it is needful that there be made some provision for them. For except schools and universities be maintained, we shall have no preachers: when we have no

preachers, when we have none which shew unto us God's word, how shall we come to that blessed kingdom which we desire? What availeth it when you have gotten many hundred pounds for your children, and lack God's word? Therefore I say, this office must needs be maintained: for it is a necessary office, which furthereth to this kingdom; of which our Saviour speaketh in the gospel, to the Jews, saying, *Instat regnum calorum*, "The kingdom of God is come near." (Luke x.) Likewise he saith to one, *Sequere me, et annuncia verbum Dei*, "Follow me, and preach the kingdom of God." So ought all preachers to do, they ought to allure every man to come to this kingdom, that this kingdom may be replenished. For the more that be converted, the more is the kingdom of God. Again, those that be wicked livers, they help to multiply the kingdom of the devil.

To this heavenly kingdom our Saviour exhorteth us, saying, *Querite primum regnum Dei, et justitiam ejus, et cætera omnia adiicientur vobis*, "Seck first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all other things shall come upon you unlooked for." Cast all thy care upon God," as David saith, *Jacta super Dominum curam tuam*. Then our principal study shall be to hear God's word, and when we have heard it, we shall believe it, and follow it, every man in his vocation. Then servants shall yield their obedience to their masters, as God requireth of them. Then the parents shall bring up their children in the fear of God; then the children shall be obedient to their parents; then subjects shall be obedient to their king and prince, and all his officers under him. So go throughout all estates, every one shall live uprightly in his calling. Then God will bless us, so that we shall not lack necessaries in this world; and then, at the end, we shall come to that perfect felicity and joy, that God hath laid up and prepared for them that study here to live according to his will and commandment. But we must labour and travail; as long as we be in this world we must be occupied. For St. Paul saith, *Si quis non vult operari nec manducet*, "Whosoever will not labour, let him not eat, (2 Thess. iii.) Likewise David saith, *Labores manuum tuarum comedes, et bene tibi erit*, "Thou shalt eat the labours of thy hand, and it shall go well with thee, (Psal. cxxvii.) For he that will labour, and is content to travail for

his living, God will prosper him, he shall not lack. Let every man therefore labour in his calling; for so did our Saviour himself, which came into this world to teach us the way to heaven, and to suffer death for us. Now how diligent he hath been in his office, it appeareth every where. For the Evangelist saith, *Loquebatur illis de regno Dei*, "He talked with them of the kingdom of God." Mark here, he taught them of the kingdom of God, he taught them nothing of the kingdom of this world. For he saith, standing before Pilate, *Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*, "My kingdom is not of this world, (John xviii.) He reigneth by faith through his Holy Ghost, in all those which pertain unto him. He is not an earthly king, as the Jews hope to have their Messias.

Therefore when I feel such motions within me, then is it time to call upon God, for such motions come of the devil; therefore I must run to God, saying, "Thy kingdom come, most loving Father; help thou; fight thou for me against my enemies, suffer me not to be taken prisoner: let not my enemies have the victory over me." So we must call upon God without intermission. For you may be sure we shall never be without battle and travail, and we are not able to withstand our adversary by our own power. Therefore it is most needful for us to call and cry unto him for help: when we do so, then we shall have grace to withstand the devil; for he cannot, neither is he able to strive with God, for all his craft. For the scripture saith, *Non est consilium contra Dominum*, "No wisdom, no craft can prevail against the Lord." (Prov. xxi.) He will help and deliver us when he seeth his time; for commonly the nature of God is to help when all man's help is past. When the devil thinketh himself cock-sure, then God cometh and subverteth his wicked intents; as it appeared in our Saviour himself; for when the devil had brought the Jews to such a madness that they went and crucified him; when this was done, the devil triumphed and made merry; he thought himself sure enough of him. But what was the end of it? his triumphing was turned to his own destruction. For Christ hanging upon the cross, did by his death destroy the power of the devil. So we see how God suffereth the devil for awhile, and then when he seeth his time, he

cometh with his gracious helping hand. But, as I told you before, the devil hath many inventions, many impediments and lets, wherewith he trappeth us. For we see there be a great many gospellers which begun very well and godly, but now the most part of them become ambitious and covetous persons ; all the world is full of such fellows.

But what then ? God will preserve his kingdom ; he will wrestle with the devil's kingdom, and so shall prevail and pull it down to the bottom. Therefore all those which be in the kingdom of God must wrestle, strive, and fight with the devil : not as the carnal gospellers do, which commonly begin well at the first, but now having rest and tranquillity, and all things going with them, they leave the gospel, and set their minds upon this naughty world. Therefore it is good and needful for us to have afflictions and exercises ; for, as St. Augustine saith, *Sanguis Christianorum est veluti semen fructuum evangelicorum*, ("The blood of the Christians is as it were the seed of the fruit of the Gospel.") For when one is hanged here, and another yonder, then God goeth a sowing of his seed. For like as the corn that is cast into the ground riseth up again, and is multiplied ; even so the blood of one of those which suffer for God's holy word's sake stirreth up a great many ; and happy is he to whom it is given to suffer for God's holy word's sake. For it is the greatest promotion that a man can have in this world, to die for God's sake, or to be despised and contemned for his sake : for they shall be well rewarded for their pains and labours, *Merces vestra multa est in cælis*, "Your reward, saith our Saviour, shall be great in heaven." (Matt. v.)

Further, when we pray, *Adveniat regnum tuum*, "Thy kingdom come," we desire of God that there may come more and more to the knowledge of God's word. And secondarily, we desire of God to bring those which be come already to the perfect knowledge of his word, and so to keep them in it still to the very end ; for not he that beginneth, but he that endureth shall be saved.

This kingdom of God is double, *Regnum gratiæ et regnum gloriæ*, "The kingdom of grace, and the kingdom of glory, honour, joy, and felicity." As long as we be in this world, we be in the kingdom of grace ; when we are gone, then we

shall come to the kingdom of glory. For as long as we be here, God sheweth himself unto us by grace; he ascertaineth us, through his Spirit of his favour, and so he reigneth within us by grace. But when we be once gone, then we shall see him face to face; which we cannot as long as we be here. For he exhibiteth himself unto us, not so plainly as he doth unto his angels, which be with him in the kingdom of glory. Therefore when we say, "Thy kingdom come," we desire of God that he will help us to this perfect kingdom, that he will deliver us out of this troublous world, and give us everlasting rest.

I fear there be a great number in England, which if they knew what they meant in speaking these words, "Thy kingdom come," they would never say them. For they are so given to the world, and so set their mind upon it, that they could be content that there should never be any end of it. Such worldlings, when they say these words, "Thy kingdom come," they pray against themselves: for they desire God to take them out of this world speedily, and yet they have all their delight in it. Therefore such worldlings when they say, "Thy kingdom come," either they mock God; or else they understand not the meaning of these words. But we ought not to trifle with God; we should not mock him; he will not be despised. *Quicquid petimus, ardenter petamus, tanquam cupientes habere.* "Let us pray heartily unto him, desirous to have the thing wherefore we pray." But the customizable impenitent sinner cannot say, from the bottom of his heart, this prayer; for he would have no end of this worldly life, he would have his heaven here. Such fellows are not meet to say, "Thy kingdom come;" for when they do, they pray against themselves. Therefore none can say this petition, but such as be aweary of this world; such faithful folk would have him to come speedily, and make an end of their miseries. It is with the Christians, like as it is in a realm where there is a confusion, and no good order; those which are good would fain have a parliament; for then they think it shall be better with them, they trust all things shall be well amended.

Sometimes the counsels be good, but the constitutions like not the wicked, and so they begin to cry out as fast as they did before. Sometimes the counsels be naught, then the

good people cry out ; and so they be never at rest. But there is one parliament that will remedy all the matters, be they never so weighty or heavy, it will despatch them clean. And this parliament will be sufficient for all realms of the whole world, which is the last day. Where our Saviour himself will bear the rule ; there shall be nothing done amiss I warrant you ; but every one as he hath deserved, so he shall have : the wicked shall have hell, the good shall possess heaven. Now this is the thing that we pray for when we say, “ Thy kingdom come :” and truly the faithful penitent sinners, do desire that parliament, even from the bottom of their hearts. For they know that therein reformations of all things shall be had ; they know that it shall be well with them in that day : and therefore they say from the bottom of their hearts, “ Thy kingdom come.” They know that there shall be a great difference between that parliament that Christ shall keep, and the parliaments of this world. For in this world this is the common rule, *Quo sceleratior eo fortunatior*, “ The more wicked, the better luck.” Which is a wonderful thing to consider how it cometh to pass, that for the most part wicked bodies have the best luck : they are in wealth and health ; insomuch that a man may much marvel at it ; as Esdras, David, and others did : specially considering that God curseth them in his laws, and threateneth them that they shall have none of his benefits : *Si non audieris vocem Domini, maledictus in agro*, “ If thou wilt not hear the voice of the Lord thy God, thou shalt be cursed in the field, &c.

These be the words of God, which he speaketh against the wicked, and it must needs be so, but yet we see by experience daily the contrary. Wherefore doth God suffer the wicked to subvert his order ? The order is, that those which do well, shall receive good things at God’s hand, they shall be blessed, and all things shall go well with them. Now, how chanceth it that we see daily the wicked to be blessed of God, to have and possess his benefits ; and the good to be cursed ? which is a wonderful thing.

God the Almighty, which is most true, yea the truth itself, doth it not without a cause. One cause is, that it is his pleasure to shew his benefits as well unto the wicked as to the good. For he letteth them have their pastime here, as it

is written, *Solem suum oriri sinit super justos et injustos*, “ He letteth his sun shine, as well over the wicked as over the good.” (Matt. v.) And I tell you this is for the exercise of those which serve God with godly living ; they are promised, that it shall go well with them, and yet have they all the ill. This maketh them to think that there is another world, wherein they shall be rewarded ; and so giveth them occasion to hawk and hunt for the other world ; whereas otherwise they would forget God, if they should have all things according to their hearts' desire, as the wicked have ; which in very deed do forget God, their mind being so occupied with other business, that they can have no leisure to inquire for God or his kingdom. Again, he suffereth them to turn his order, to the intent that they may be brought to repentance, when they see his great goodness shewed unto them, in that notwithstanding all their wickedness, he suffereth them to enjoy the good things of the world. And so by his benefits he would give them occasion to leave sin and wickedness. As St. Paul saith, *Ut Dei bonitas te ad penitentiam adducit*, “ The goodness of God allureth us to amendment of our life,” but when they will not amend, then *Cumulant sibi ipsis iram in die iræ*, “ They heap up to themselves the wrath of God in the day of wrath.”

Now you have heard the causes, wherefore God suffereth the wicked to enjoy his gifts. But I would will and desire you most heartily for God's sake, to consider that the judgment of God at the latter day shall be right, according unto justice : it will then appear who hath been good or bad. And this is the only comfort of all christian people, that they know that they shall be delivered from all their troubles and vexations. Let us therefore have a desire that this day may come quickly ; let us hasten God forward ; let us cry unto him day and night, *Adveniat regnum tuum*, “ Most merciful Father, thy kingdom come.” St. Paul saith, *Non veniat dum nisi veniat defectio*, “ The Lord will not come till the swerving from faith cometh ;” which thing is already done and past : Antichrist is known throughout all the world. Wherefore the day is not far off. Let us beware ; for it will one day fall upon our heads. St. Peter saith, *Finis omnium appropin-*

quant, “ The end of all things draweth very near.” If St. Peter said so at his time, how much more shall we say so? For it is a long time since St. Peter spake these words.

The world was ordained to endure, as all learned men affirm and prove it with scripture, six thousand years*. Now of that number there be passed five thousand five hundred and fifty-two; so that there is no more left but four hundred and forty-eight. And furthermore, those days shall be shortened, it shall not be full six thousand years. *Nam abbreviabuntur dies propter electos,* “ The days shall be shortened for the elect’s sake.” Therefore all those excellent learned men, which without doubt God hath sent into this world in these latter days to give the world warning, all those men do gather out of scripture that the last day cannot be far off. And this is most certain and sure, that whensoever he cometh, he cometh not too timely, for all things which ought to come before are passed now. So that if he come this night, or to-morrow, he cometh not too early. Therefore, good people, let us make ready towards his coming. And though he cometh not at this time, yet let us make ready; for we are not sure when we shall be called to make account before the Lord. All good and godly people since the world began, endeavoured themselves to make ready towards this day. But, O Lord, how wretched and miserable, yea, and how careless we be! Therefore it will be like as he saith, *Cum diverint pax et tranquillitas,* “ When they say, all things are well and quiet, *Tunc repentinus superveniet illis interitus,* then they shall be suddenly taken, and perish;” like as *Dives epulo* that rich glutton did: he ate and drank, he builded a new barn, for the old was too little for him; then he said to himself, “ Now my soul, now be merry and take thy pleasure; for thou hast riches enough for many years.” But what said God? What said he? *Stulte, hac nocte,* “ Thou fool, this night they

* It was a current opinion among the ancient Jews, that as the world was created in six days, it shall therefore last six thousand years. This conceit they ground on the words, that with the Lord “ a thousand years is as yesterday.” The Rabbi Elias goes more explicitly to work, and divides the whole period thus: two thousand years before the law; two thousand under the law; two thousand under the Messiah. At the time of the reformation, this notion was very prevalent.

will fetch thy soul from thee ; whose shall those riches be then which thou hast heaped up." And so shall all those be taken and trapped like this *epulo*, this glutton, which will not make ready, which refuse the warnings of God ; they shall be taken so suddenly to their everlasting wo. For scripture giveth warning unto every one, saying, *Sicut in diebus Noah*, &c. " Like as in the days of Noah they will eat and drink, and marry," &c. To eat and to drink, and marry, is godly and lawful ; but to do it otherwise than God hath commanded, it is wicked and damnable. To eat without thanksgiving, or to eat either man's flesh, or to play the glutton, more than sufficeth nature, this is wicked. *Item*, to marry upon other respects than God hath appointed, and expressed in his most holy laws, is wicked and damnable : else *Honorabile coniugium inter omnes*, " Marriage is honourable amongst all men ;" but to marry for wantonness sake, that is wicked. *Viderunt filii Dei filias hominum*, " The sons of God saw the daughters of men." This did Noah rebuke in his time, but they laughed at it ; he prepared the ark, and went into it ; at the length the flood fell upon their heads. *Sicut in diebus Lot*, " As in the days of Lot :" what did they ? *Ingressus es advena*, " Thou art come hither a stranger," said they ; regarding nothing God's word, which was shewed unto them through that good man Lot ; they were wicked, whoremongers, drunkards, covetous persons. But what followeth ; what followeth, I say ? consider the end : " The fire from heaven fell upon them suddenly and consumed them all." *At nos non sumus in tenebris*, We be not in darkness. We have the word of God, we know what is his will ; therefore let us watch, for he will come like a thief in the night ; happy are we if he shall find us watching.

This is the effect of this petition, wherein we desire that God will send down faith from heaven, that he will continue in me my faith, and every man's, so that we may be ready to go with him when his kingdom shall come.

Now as many as pertain to this kingdom of God, shall have one property amongst other things ; they shall have an earnest and stedfast purpose to leave sin, according to St. Paul's saying, *Ne regnet igitur peccatum in vestro mortali corpore*, " Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies." God's

kingdom shall reign in us, and not the devil's. Therefore when the devil tempteth thee, withstand him ; give not over, let him not get the victory : As for an ensample ; when thou seest a fair woman, an ill desire riseth up in thy heart towards her : this lust is of the devil ; call therefore for help, let him not occupy thy heart ; then surely God will help, for he hath promised, *Nulla condemnatio iis qui sunt in Christo*, "There is no condemnation to such as are in Christ Jesu ;" when we do not allow sin nor agree unto it. Therefore dispose yourselves so to live according unto his will ; which can and will preserve us from the devil, and bring us into his kingdom : Which grant us God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

THE
FOURTH SERMON
UPON
THE LORD'S PRAYER,
MADE BY MASTER LATIMER.

MATTHEW, vi. 10.

Fiat voluntas tua.

Thy will be done.

AFTER this form our Saviour, a perfect schoolmaster, taught Christian people to pray, "Our Father, which art in heaven; thy will be done." And here he teacheth us two things as he did afore in the other petitions. First, he teacheth us to understand what we be of ourselves; namely, nothing at all, not able to do any thing pleasant to God; and so he plucketh us down, cutteth off our combs, bringeth us low; which else would be proud, as though we could do somewhat that we cannot do indeed; like as those merit-mongers do, which esteem themselves after their merits, think themselves perfect; insomuch that their works shall not only help themselves, but also others: therefore they take in hand to sell them for money.

These fellows know not themselves, and therefore they do contrary unto this petition. Where our Saviour teacheth us, that we can do nothing of ourselves; they, contrary to that petition, will do all things alone, and with their merits bring to pass all matters. But our Saviour, contrary to that, teacheth us two things in this petition. First, he pulleth down our stomachs, and teacheth us to know ourselves. Secondarily, he sheweth us what we shall do; namely, call upon God our heavenly Father, that he will help us, that we may be able to do his will; for of our own selves we are notable to do any thing acceptable unto him. And this is a good doctrine, which admonisheth us to give all praise unto God, and not to ascribe it

to our own selves : for so did St. Paul when he said : *Omnia possum in eo qui confortat me*, “ I am able to do all things that pertain to God’s honour and glory, through him that strengtheneth me : ” he said not, through mine own self ; but through God which helpeth me. And here appeareth the right humiliation, and lowliness, which our Saviour teacheth us in this petition. For he would have us to know our own impossibility and unability to do any thing ; and then, again, he would have us to call for aid and help to God ; therefore he teacheth us to say, *Adveniat regnum tuum*, “ Thy kingdom come.” So that though we be not able through our own selves to do any thing, yet when we call upon him he will help. For Christ knew his Father’s will and loving affections towards us ; he knew that he would help us, for he was a perfect school-master ; else he would not have commanded us to pray, *Fiat voluntas tua*, “ Thy will be done.” Here we must understand, that the will of God is to be considered after two sorts. First, as it is omnipotent, unsearchable, and that cannot be known unto us. Now we do not pray that his will so considered be done. For his will so considered, is and ever shall be fulfilled, though we would say nay to it. For nothing either in heaven, or in earth, is able to withstand his will. Wherefore it were but folly for us to have it fulfilled, otherwise than to shew thereby that we give our consent to his will, which is to us unsearchable.

But there is another consideration of God’s holy will ; and in that consideration, we and all faithful Christians desire that it may be done : and so considered, it is called a revealed, a manifested, and declared will ; and it is opened unto us in the Bible, in the New and Old Testament : there God hath revealed a certain will ; therefore we pray that it may be done, and fulfilled of us. This will was opened by Moses and the holy prophets, and afterward by our Saviour himself and his apostles, which he left behind him to that end, that they should instruct the world and teach them his will : which apostles have done according to their master’s commandment, for they not only spake it, but also wrote it to that end that it should remain to the world’s end. And truly we are much bound to God, that he hath set out this his will in our natural mother tongue, in English, I say, so that now you may not only hear it, but also

read it yourselves ; which is a great comfort to every Christian heart. For now you can no more be deceived, as you have been in times past, when we did bear you in hand that popery was the word of God ; which falsehood we could not have brought to pass, if the word of God, the Bible, had been abroad in the common tongue. For then you might have perceived yourselves our falsehood and blindness. This I speak to that end, to move you to thankfulness towards him, which so lovingly provideth all things necessary to our salvation.

Now to the matter ; Almighty God, I say, set out his will by Moses and his prophets, and this will is contained in certain laws, which laws God commandeth that we should keep ever before our eyes, and look upon them as in a glass, and so learn to order our lives according unto the same. And in case that a man swerve from the same, and so fall into the danger of damnation, God revealed further his will how to remedy the matter, namely, by repentance and faith ; so that whosoever from the bottom of his heart is sorry for his sins, and studieth to leave them and live uprightly, and then believeth in our Saviour, confessing that he came into this world to make amends for our sins ; this man or woman shall not perish, but have forgiveness of sins, and so obtain everlasting life. And this will God revealeth specially in the New Testament, where our Saviour saith, *Qui crédit in me habit vitam æternam,* " Whosoever believeth in me hath everlasting life ;" where we learn that our Saviour is ordained of God to bring us to heaven, else we should have been all damned world without end. So that in this prayer, when we say, " Thy will be done," we desire of God that he will help and strengthen us, so that we may keep his holy laws and commandments. And then again we desire of him, that he will endue us with the gift of faith, so that we may believe that all those things which we do contrary to his laws, shall be pardoned and forgiven unto us through his Son, for his passion's sake. And further, we desire him that he will fortify and strengthen us, so that we may withstand the devil's will and our own, which fight against God's will. So that we may be able to bear all tribulations and afflictions willingly and patiently, for his sake. This is the simple meaning of this petition, when we say, " Thy will be done." I will go a little further, and shew you

somewhat more of it, yet I intend not to tarry long, for I am not very well at ease this morning, therefore I will make it short.

I have said now many times, and I say it yet again, *Quod petimus ardenter, petamus tanquam cupientes habere*, " Whatsoever we desire of God, let us desire it from the bottom of our hearts :" but I fear me, there be many which say this prayer, and yet cannot tell what they say, or at the least their hearts are contrary disposed unto it. Such people I exhort on God's behalf to consider their duties, to consider that God will not be mocked withal, he will not be derided. We laugh God to scorn when we say one thing with our mouth, and think another thing with our hearts. Take this for an ensample.

Our rebels which rose about two years ago in Norfolk and Devonshire, they considered not this petition : they said it with their lips only, but not with their hearts. Almighty God hath revealed his will as concerning magistrates, how he will have them to be honoured and obeyed. They were utterly bent against it ; he revealed this will in many places of the scripture ; but specially by St. Peter, where he saith, *Subdite estote nimis humane creaturæ*, that is thus much to say in effect, " Be ye subject to all the common laws made by men of authority ; " by the king's majesty, and his most honourable council, or by a common parliament ; be subject unto them, obey them, saith God. And here is but one exception that is against God, that is, when laws are made against God and his word ; then I ought more to obey God than man. Then I may refuse to obey with a good conscience ; yet for all that I may not rise up against the magistrates, nor make any uproar ; for if I do so, I sin damnably : I must be content to suffer whatsoever God shall lay upon me, yet I may not obey their wicked laws to do them. Only in such a case men may refuse to obey, else in all the other matters we ought to obey. What laws soever they make as concerning outward things we ought to obey, and in no wise to rebel, although they be never so hard, noisome and hurtful ; our duty is to obey, and commit all the matters unto God, not doubting but that God will punish them, when they do contrary to their office and calling. Therefore tarry till God correct them ; we may not

take upon us to reform them, for it is no part of our duty. If the rebels, I say, had considered this, think you they would have preferred their own will afore God's will? For doing as they did, they prayed against themselves. But I think that ignorance was a great cause of it; truly I think if this had been opened unto them, they would never have taken such an enterprise in hand. And here we have occasion to consider how much we be bounden unto God, that he openeth unto us his word so plainly, and teacheth us so truly how we should behave ourselves towards the magistrates and their laws: but for all that, I fear there be some of us which little regard their laws and statutes: such despisers of magistrates, when they pray, they pray against themselves. There be laws made of diet, how we shall feed our bodies, what meat we shall eat at all times, and this law is made in policy, as I suppose, for victuals' sake, that fish might be uttered as well as other meat. Now as long as it goeth so in policy we ought to keep it. Therefore all except those that be dispensed withal, as sick, impotent persons, women with child, or old folks, or licensed persons, all the rest ought to live in an ordinary obedience to those laws, and not do against the same in any wise. There be laws made for apparel, how we shall cover our nature: Is there not many which go otherwise than God and the magistrates command them to go? There is made a law for gaming, how we shall recreate our bodies, (for we must have some recreation because of the weakness of our nature:) In that law we be inhibited carding, dicing, tabling, and bowling, and such manner of games, which are expressed in the same act: you may read it, and you ought to read it, and to know the acts. For how can you keep them when you know them not? Every faithful subject will not disdain to read the acts, and the king's majesty's proceedings, so that he may know what is allowed, or forbidden in the same acts. And I myself read the acts, for it is meet so for us to do. Now again, this is a great matter that God is so kind towards us, that he disdaineth not to reveal his will, what order we shall keep in our diet, in our refreshing and garments.

Therefore it is most meet for us to live in subjection, and not to prefer our own will before God's will. For when I do

stubbornly against those acts set out by our natural king, and his most honourable counsellors; then I prefer my will afore God's will, and so sin damnably. These things ought well to be noted; for it is not a trifling matter, there hangeth damnation or salvation upon it. Therefore, as I said before, it is good to know the laws, and I call him a good man, and her a good woman, that are content to be ruled by the laws, and so declare their subjection and obedience unto God and the magistrates.

There be some men that say, when the king's majesty himself commandeth me to do so, then I will do it, not afore; this is a wicked saying, and damnable: for we may not so be excused. Scripture is plain in it, and sheweth us that we ought to obey his officers, having authority from the king, as well as unto the king himself. Therefore this excuse will not, nor cannot serve afore God. Yet let the magistrates take heed to their office and duties; for the magistrates may not do all things according to their pleasures, and minds; they have authority of God to do well, and not harm; to edify, and not to destroy; to punish the wicked and obstinate, and to comfort those which live well and godly; to defend the same from wrong and injuries of the wicked. So it appeareth that every one in his order, in his degree and calling, ought to do the will of God, and not our own will and pleasure. This is our duty, happy are we if we do it indeed. O that men in authority would consider whereunto God hath ordained them. St. Paul saith, the magistrate is *Ultor ad iram*, "he is God's ordinary minister, to punish malefactors and ill doers." God saith, *Mihi vindictam, ego retribuam*, "I will avenge myself," saith God, and so he doth by his magistrates: for that is his ordinary way, whereby he punishes malefactors. But magistrates must take heed they go no further than God alloweth them to do: If they do, they themselves shall be punished. As there be many ensamples in scripture whereby appeareth how grievously God hath punished wicked magistrates.

In summa, St. Peter giveth a rule not only unto the magistrates, but unto the subjects, saying, *Hæc est voluntas Dei, ut obturetis os adversariorum bene agendo*, "It is the will of God that you with your good, godly, and honest conversation

shall stop the mouth of your adversaries." What called St. Peter well-doing? well-doing is to live according to God's laws and commandments. God's commandment is, that we shall obey magistrates: therefore those which disobey and transgress the laws of the magistrates, they do not according to God's will and pleasure; they do but mock God, they stop not the mouth of the adversaries, as St. Peter would have them to do; but they give rather occasion unto the wicked to slander and blaspheme the holy word of God. St. Peter would have us to stop their mouth with well-doings. Many men when they have been reproved of preachers because of their wicked living, they have gone about to stop their mouth with slanderous words; this stopping is an ill stopping. St. Peter would have us to stop with well-doing. Now will magistrates not be spoken ill of, and reproved of preachers? Let them do well. Likewise saith St. Paul of the subjects, *Vis non timere potestatem? benefac et habebis laudem,* "Wilt thou not fear the higher power? do well, and thou shalt be commended." Now even as it is with the temporal sword, so is it with the spiritual. There be some men which cannot away withal if they be rebuked; they cannot bear when the preacher speaketh against their wickedness; unto them I say, *Vis non timere predicatore? benefac,* "Will you not be rebuked of the preacher? then do well;" leave off your covetousness, your ambition, your irefulness, vengeance, and malice, your lechery and filthiness, your blood-shedding, and such like sins; leave them, amend your life, or else the preacher, according to his office, will rebuke and reprove you: be you never so great lords or ladies, he will rub you on the gall. For a good and godly preacher can do no less; seeing God dishonoured, perceiving him to be blasphemed, his will to be neglected, and not executed of them that ought with all their study and endeavour to apply themselves that his will might be done. For he is well worthy, he is the Lord, he created heaven and earth, and is therefore the right natural Lord over it. But for all that, the devil is lord more than he is, not by right or inheritance, but by conquest, by usurpation; he is an usurper. God, as I said before, is the natural and lawful Lord over the earth, because he made it; yet it pleased his divine majesty to make mankind, as ye would say, lieutenant over it;

so that mankind should bear the rule over the whole earth. Therefore God said unto him, *Dominaris*, “ Be ruler over it ;” *Item, replete terram, et subjicite illam*, Also, “ Replenish the earth, and subdue it.” Here Adam and his wife, and so all his posterity, were by God made rulers over the earth, as God’s high deputies, or his lieutenants. So, as concerning God’s ordinance, mankind was the lawful inheritor of this kingdom. But now cometh in the devil with his crafty conveyances, and with his false subtleties, he inveigled first the woman, and afterward the man, persuading them to transgress God’s holy commandments; with which so doing they lost the favour of God, and their dignities; and so the devil, through his false lies, substituted himself as an usurper or conqueror: and so he is a possessor, *non per fas, sed nefas*, not lawfully but wrongfully.

Though he did say to our Saviour, shewing him all the kingdoms of the world, *Cuicunque volo do illa*, “ I may give them to whomsoever I will,” he lieth falsely; God will destroy him at the length for all his subtleties and lies, they shall not save him. Yet for all that he is a great ruler. For this is most certain and true, a great many more do the will of the devil, than of God; whatsoever they babble with their mouths, look upon their works, and you shall find it so. For all proud persons, all ambitious persons, which be ever climbing out, and yet never be well, all such do not the will of God, and therefore pertain not to his kingdom: all ireful, rebellious persons, all quarrellers and wranglers, all blood-shedders, do the will of the devil, and not God’s will. God saith, *Mihi vindictam ego retribuam*, “ I will avenge myself.” Which he doth through the magistrate; and when the magistrate is slack, he doth it himself. Now those ireful, malicious persons, that hate their neighbours, they do not the will of God, but of the devil. Also these subtil, deceitful persons, which have no conscience to defraud and beguile their neighbours, that care not for breaking their promises, nor are not ashamed to utter false ware, they pertain all to the devil. *Item*. Also, those that will not make restitution of goods ill gotten, they serve the devil. Scripture saith, *Qui peccat ex diabolo est*, “ Whosoever sinneth is of the devil ;” which is a very hard word to be spoken, of the Holy

Ghost, and a fearful word, able to withdraw us from sin, if we had any fear of God in our hearts. Amongst those may be numbered all slothful persons, which will not travail for their livings, they do the will of the devil. God biddeth us to get our living with labour; they will not labour, but go rather about a begging, and spoil the very poor and needy. Therefore such valiant beggars are thieves before God. Some of these valiant lubbers, when they came to my house I communed with them, burthening them with the transgression of God's laws. "Is not this a great labour, say they, to run from one town to another to get our meat? I think we labour as hard as other men do." In such wise they go about to excuse their unlawful beggary and thievery: but such idle lubbers are much deceived; for they consider not that such labour is not allowed of God. We must labour so as may stand with godliness, according to his appointment; else thieves which rob in the night-time, do they not labour? yea, sometimes they labour with great care, peril, and danger of their lives. Is it therefore godly, because it is a labour? No, no; we must labour as God hath appointed us, every man in his estate. Further, these drunkards, which abuse the gifts of God; also these lecherers and whoremongers, that live in adultery; these violators of holy matrimony, which live not according unto God's law; also these swearers, foreswearers, liars, all those do not the will of God. Therefore it is to be lamented of every Christian heart, when they see how many servants the devil hath, and God so few. But all those which serve the devil, are rebels against God; God was their Lord, they swerve from him through wicked living, and so become servants of the devil. Therefore those Christian people that have a desire to live after God's will and commandments, they live amongst the wicked even as it were amongst the rebels.

They that dwelled in Norfolk or Devonshire at the time of rebellion, they which were faithful to their king and prince, how think you they were entreated? Full miserably, God knoweth; either they were constrained to help their wicked purposes, or else they must suffer all calamities which could be devised. Even so shall all those be entreated which intend to live well, according to God's commandments. For the rebels, that is, the wicked which have forsaken their Lord God,

and taken the devil to be ruler over them, they shall compel them to follow, or else to suffer all calamities and miseries. And so shall be verified the saying of our Saviour Christ, *Non veni ut mittam pacem sed gladium*, “ I am not come, saith he, to send peace, but the sword.” (Matt. x.) Which is indeed a strange saying, but it hath his understanding: God is a God of peace and concord, he loveth unity and concord: but when he cannot have peace, by reason of the devil, then he will have the sword; that is to say, God loveth unity, he would have all agree together, but because of the wicked we cannot: therefore he will rather have us to choose the sword, that is, to strive and withstand their wickedness, than to agree unto them. And therefore this doctrine is called a seditious doctrine; but who are those rebels? even they themselves which call this doctrine seditious, they themselves, I say, are traitors against God. Wherefore our Saviour, seeing he can have no peace with the wicked, he will have us rather to withstand their wickedness, and so to bring them to reformation: and this is the cause wherefore he will have his flock segregated from the wicked.

Therefore let us pray unto God our heavenly Father, *Fiat voluntas tua*, “Thy will be done.” This is the prayer of all Christian people, which have a will to do God’s will; but those impudent sinners, which are not yet weary of their sins, do never pray; for though they say the words, yet it is to no purpose, they say them without understanding: therefore it is but lip-labour, it is no prayer, it is but the devil’s service. For a man may serve the devil, with saying the *Pater-noster*, when he saith it with a defiled mind. Let us therefore order ourselves so, that we may say it worthily as it ought to be. Let us lay away all wickedness and ill living, so that we may say from the bottom of our heart, “ Our Father, which art in heaven; thy will be done.” And so did Susanna, that godly woman; so did lady Judith; so did queen Esther; so did all good saints of God: and though this prayer was not made at that time, by the reason they were a great while afore Christ’s coming; yet they had this prayer in effect. For they believed in almighty God, they believed in Abraham’s seed, which was promised; which faith stood them in as good stead, and they were as well saved through that same belief, as we now through

our belief. For it is no difference between their belief and ours, but this; they believed in Christ which was to come, and we believe in Christ, which is come already.

Now their belief served them as well as ours doth us. For at that time God required no further at their hands than was opened unto them: we have in our time a further and more perfect knowledge of Christ than they had. Now Susanna, when the judges, the same wicked men, came unto her, and moved her with fearful threatenings to do their wills, that is, to sin against God in doing that filthy act of lechery, (for the same wicked judges bare a wicked damnable love towards her;) think you not she resorted unto God? Yes, yes, without doubt; she said these words in effect, *Pater noster, fiat voluntas tua,* "Our Father, thy will be done," and not the will of the wicked men. Therefore she putting her hope and trust in God, having a respect that his will might be done, and not the devil's will, God, which is ever true, did not fail her; for you know how she was delivered through young Daniel. This is written to our instruction; for he is now the self-same God that he was at that time; he is as mighty as he was; he is as ready as he was. She was in anguish and great distress, she sought to hallow his holy name; therefore he did help her, he suffered her not to perish. So certainly he will do unto us too. Therefore when we be in trouble let us hallow his name, and then we shall find his help like as Susanna did.

In such wise did Judith when she was provoked of Holofernes to do wickedly. She sought rather to sanctify God's name, to do his will, than the will of the devil; therefore God gave her such a triumphant victory. So did queen Hester, when Haman, that wicked fellow, had power over her: she committed all the matter unto God, with fasting and prayer. But Saint Peter, what did he? Marry, he forgat his *Pater-noster*; for when there came but a foolish wench, asking him; "Art not thou a Galilean?" Art not thou one of this new learning? art not thou a gospeller? What did Peter? He was gone quite; he denied it; he forgat his Pater-noster. For if he had had grace to consider that he ought rather to suffer death, than forsake his master Christ, then he would have said, *Pater noster, fiat voluntas tua,* "Our Father, thy will be done." I am ready to suffer for thy sake whatsoever thou

shalt lay upon me. But he did not so, he forgot himself. What did our Saviour? he turned back and looked upon him. Happy was Peter that our Saviour looked upon him again, for it was a gracious token.

Judas, that false man, that traitor, forgot this same petition, and remained so in his error still to the end. Surely he was a sorrowful, and a heavy man, insomuch that he made restitution. He was much better than a great many of us be, which when they have injured and wronged poor men, will make no restitution. I tell you truth, Judas was much better than such fellows be. *Penitentia ductus*, "Restitution leads to repentance," saith the text; but he lacked faith. And so between Peter and him, which were both two sorrowful men, this was the difference; Peter had faith, Judas lacked it: yet he was exceeding sorrowful for his wickedness, insomuch that he went and hanged himself; therefore he forgat this petition. So likewise all voluntary sinners, all unrepentant sinners, none of them all saith this petition as they ought to do; they say not worthily nor profitably, for they have no will to do his will, their will is to do their own will and pleasure.

But above all things, these quest-mongers had need to take heed; for there all things goeth by oath. They had need to say; "Our Father, thy will be done." For they shall be moved to do this and that, which is against God. They must judge by their oath; according to conscience, guilty or not guilty. When he is guilty, in what case are those which say, not guilty? Scripture doth shew what a thing it is, when a man is a malefactor, and the quest-mongers justify him, and pronounce him not guilty; saying, *Et qui justificat impium, et qui condemnat justum, ambo abominabiles coram Domino*, "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just man, they are both abominable before the Lord." Who is abominable? He that doth not the will of God; the will of God is, that the wicked should be punished. I myself did once know where there was a man slain of another man in an anger; it was done openly, the man-killer was taken and put in prison. Suit was made to the quest-mongers, (for it was a rich man that had done the act;) at the length, every man had a crown for his good-will: and so this open man-killer was pronounced not guilty.

Lo, they sold their souls unto the devil for five shillings : for which souls Christ suffered death ; and I dare pronounce, except they amend and be sorry for their faults, they shall be damned in hell world without end. They had clean forgotten this petition, “ Thy will be done.” For they did the will of the devil. It had been a good deed to cut off their crowns by their necks, to the ensample of all others. Therefore, I say, these quest-mongers had need to say, “ Our Father, which art in heaven, thy will be done :” For truly it is marvel that this realm sinketh not down to hell headlong. What perjuries, swearing and cursing is every where, in every corner ? Therefore, I say, we had need to pray earnestly, that God's will may be done. And we should be content to lose our lives for righteousness' sake ; for he that loseth his life, for because he will not agree to the dishonour of God, he seeketh that God's will may be done. Happy is that man, for he findeth his life, he loseth it not : for Christ will be his keeper.

Joab, that great and valiant captain, he knew well enough when David sent unto him good Uriah with letters ; he knew, I say, that the king's will was against God's will, yet he looked through his fingers, he winked at it, he would rather do the wicked will of the king than the will of God. Of such fellows there be a great number, which care not for the honour and will of God. These chaplains about the king, and great men, had need to say, *Fiat voluntas tua*, “ Our Father, thy will be done ;” but they are very slow and slack ; they wink commonly at all matters be they never so bad. They be *Capellani ad manus*, chaplains at hand. They will not *arguere mundum de peccato*, “ they dare not rebuke the world of sin ; they dare not do as the prophet commandeth unto them to do, when he saith, *Audiant montes judicia Domini*, “ Let the hills hear the judgments of the Lord ; though they smoke :” as he saith, *tange montes, et fumigabunt*, “ Touch the hills, and they will smoke.” Yea, and though they smoke, yet strike them ; spare them not, tell them their faults. But great men cannot suffer that, to be so rebuked their chaplains must be taught discretion, if they will go so to work. They say commonly, magistrates should be brought out of estimation, if they should be handled so.

Sirs, I will tell you what you shall do to keep your estima-

tion and credit ; do well, handle uprightly and indifferently all matters, defend the people from oppressions, do your office as God hath appointed you to do ; when you do so, I warrant you, you shall keep your estimation and credit. And I warrant you again, the preacher will not strike nor cut you with his sword ; but rather praise you, and commend your well-doings. Else when you do naught, and wickedly, oppress the poor, and give false judgments ; when you do so, that is no godly preacher that will hold his peace, and not strike you with his sword, that you smoke again. But it is commonly as the scripture saith, *Laudatur impius in desideriis animæ suæ*, "The wicked is praised in the desires of his wickedness." Chaplains will not do their duties, they will not draw their swords, but rather flatter, they will use discretion : but what shall follow ? Marry, they shall have God's curse upon their heads for their labour : this shall be all their gains that they shall get by their flatterings.

Another scripture saith, *Qui potestatem exercent hi beneficia vocantur*, "The great and mighty men be called benefactors, well doers :" but of whom be they called so ? Marry, of flatterers, of those which seek not to do the will of God, but the pleasures of men.

St. John Baptist, that hardy knight, and excellent preacher of God, he said this petition right with a good faith ; "Our Father, thy will be done :" therefore he went to the king, saying, *Non licet tibi*, "Sir, it is not lawful for thee to do so." See what boldness he had ? How hot a stomach in God's quarrel, to defend God's honour and glory ? But our chaplains, what do they nowadays ? Marry, they wink at it, they will not displease : for they seek livings, they seek benefices ; therefore they be not worthy to be God's officers. Isaiah, that faithful minister of God, he is a good plain fellow, he telleth them the matter in plain, saying, *Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam, principes tui infideles, socii furum*. "Thy silver is turned to dross, thy princes are unfaithful, and fellows of thieves." He is no flatterer, he telleth them the truth. Thy princes, said he, are bribe-takers, subverters of justice. This Isaiah did ; for he had respect to God's word, he perceived things amiss ; he knew that it was his part to admonish, to cut them with his sword. Would

God our preachers would be so fervent to promote the honour and glory of God, to admonish the great and the small to do the will of the Lord. I pray God they may be as fervent as our Saviour was, when he said to his disciples, *Meus cibus est, ut faciam voluntatem Patris mei qui est in caelo,* " My meat is to do the will of my Father which is in heaven ;" that is to say, you are not more desirous to eat your meat when you be a hungry, than I am to do my Father's will which is in heaven. By what occasion our Saviour saith these words you shall perceive, when you consider the circumstances. I pray you read the chapter, it is the fourth of John. The story is this : He sendeth his disciples to a town to buy meat ; (where it appeareth that our Saviour had money) after their departure, he setteth him down, which was a token he was a weary, and I warrant you he had never a cushion to lay under him. Now as he was sitting so, there cometh a woman of the town to fetch water ; he desired her to give him drink. She made answer, " Will you drink with me which am a Samaritan ?" So they went forward in their talk : at the length he bad her go call her husband. She made answer, I have no husband : " Thou sayest well, said our Saviour, for thou hast had five, and this that thou hast now is not thy husband." And so he revealed himself unto her.

Some men, peradventure, will say, What meaneth this that our Saviour talketh alone with this woman ? Answer, his humility and gentleness is shewed herein. For he was content to talk with her, being alone, and to teach her the way to heaven. Again, some men may learn here, not to be so hasty in their judgments ; that when they see two persons talk together suspect them ; for in so doing they might suspect our Saviour himself. It is not good ; it is against the will of God to judge rashly : I know what I mean ; I know what unhappy tales be abroad ; but I can do no more but to give you warning. Now the woman went her way into the city, making much ado, how she had found the Messiah, the Saviour of the world : insomuch, that a great many of the Samaritans came out unto him. Now as the woman was gone, the disciples desired him to eat ; he made them answer, *Ego alium cibum habeo,* " I have other meat ;" then they thought somebody had brought him some meat ; at the length he breaketh

out and saith, *Hic est cibus meus, ut faciam voluntatem Patris mei qui misit me,* “ I am as desirous to do my Father’s will, as you be of meat and drink.” Let us now, for God’s sake, be so desirous to do the will of God, as we be to eat and drink. Let us endeavour ourselves to keep his laws and commandments, then whatsoever we shall desire of him he will give it unto us ; we shall have it.

We read oftentimes in Scripture, that our Saviour was preaching according unto his vocation ; I would every man would go so diligently about his business : The priests to go to their books, not to spend their times so shamefully in hawking, hunting, and keeping of ale-houses : if they would go to their books, in so doing they should do the will of God ; but the most part of them do their own will, they take their pleasure ; but God will find them out at length, he will mete with them when he seeth his time. On a time when our Saviour was preaching, his mother came unto him, very desirous to speak with him, insomuch that she made means to speak with him, interrupting his sermon, which was not good manners. Therefore, after St. Augustine, and St. Jerom’s mind, she was pricked a little with vain-glory ; she would have been known to be his mother, else she would not have been so hasty to speak with him. And here you may perceive that we gave her too much, in thinking her to be without any sparkle of sins, which was too much ; for no man born into this world is without sin, save Christ only. The school doctors say she was arrogant. One came and told our Saviour as he was teaching ; Sir, thy mother is here, and would speak with thee. He made answer, like as he did when he was but twelve years old : *Oportet me esse,* “ I must be about my Father’s business : ” so he saith now, stretching out his hands, “ Who is my mother ? *Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei qui est in celis,* “ He that doth the will of my Father, that is in heaven.” Luke saith, *Qui audit verbum Dei et facit istud,* “ He that heareth the word of God, and doth it.” Mark this well, he saith, “ and doth it ; ” let us do, let us not only be hearers but doers ; then we shall be according to this promise, his brethren and sisters ; we must hear his word, and do it. For truly, if Mary his mother had not heard his word and believed it, she should never have been saved. For she was not saved because she was his natural

mother, but because she believed in him ; because she was his spiritual mother. Remember therefore, that all that do his will, are his kinsfolk. But remember that in another place he saith, *Non omnes qui dicunt mihi, Domine, Domine, introibunt*, “ Not all that say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.” Here you see that the matter standeth not in saying, but in doing ; do his will, and then resort unto him, and thou shall be welcome. We read in Luke, where our Saviour said, *Servus qui noscit voluntatem domini, et non facit, vapulabit multis*, “ That servant that knoweth the will of his master, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.” He that knoweth not shall be beaten, but not so much. We must first know, and then do ; it is a good thing to know, but it is a heinous thing to know, and not to do ; it is a great sin to slander God's word with wicked living, as it is commonly seen amongst men. But this fault, if it be not amended, shall have grievous punishment.

Now, some men will say, seeing it is so that those which know God's word, and do not the same, shall be beaten with many stripes ; then I will keep me from it, and so when I am damned I shall have the easier punishment. No, no, my friend : *Ignorantia non excusat presertim voluntaria et affectata*, “ Wilful ignorance excuseth not.” To say I will not hear it, for I intend to do as it shall please me : this is not ignorance, brother, but rather contumacy, or despising of God's word. Those which would fain know, but cannot, for that they have no teacher, they shall be excused somewhat, for they shall have easier pain than the others have ; as he saith, *Væ tibi, Chorazin, quia si in Sodoma*, “ Wo unto thee, Chorazin, because if in Sodom,” &c., meaning, that the Sodomites shall have easier judgment than the other ; but as for those which refuse to hear when they might hear, they are in an ill case, and shall be punished with unspeakable pains. And I tell you the very ignorant man is not all excused ; for so saith God by his prophets, *Si non annunciareris ut convertatur à via sua mala, impius in iniustitate sua morietur*, “ The wicked, (saith he) shall die, though he hath had never warning before.” So we see that ignorance excuseth not : but the ignorant are the less punished because of their ignorance ; as there be degrees in hell one shall be punished more grievously than the other, according to their deserts.

There be some men in England which say, No, say they, I will hear none of them all, till they agree amongst themselves. Such fellows truly shall never come to the gospel. For there will be contentions as long as the devil is alive, he cannot suffer God's word to be spread abroad. Therefore he doth, and will do till the world's end, what he can to let the word of God : then it is like that those fellows shall never come to hear God's word, and therefore worthily be damned as despisers of God's most holy word.

Further, this petition hath an addition, *Quemadmodum in celo*, " As it is in heaven." The writers make two manner of heavens, a spiritual heaven, and a temporal heaven. The spiritual heaven is where God's will is fully done, where the angels be, which do the will and pleasure of God without dilation. Now, when we say, " As it is in heaven," we pray God that we may do his will as perfectly as the angels do. Ensamples in scripture we have many, which teach us the diligent service which the angels do unto the Lord.

When king David fell in a presumption, so that he commanded his captain Joab to number his people ; which thing was against the Lord, and Joab did naughtily in obeying the king in such things, but he went and numbered eight hundred thousand, and five hundred thousand men able to fight, beside women and children : for this act God was angry with David, and sent his prophet, which told him that God would plague him, and bad him to choose whether he would have seven years' hunger, or that his enemies should prevail against him three months long, or to have three days' pestilence. He made answer, saying, it is better to fall into the hands of God, than of men : and so chose pestilence. After that, within three days died threescore and ten thousand.

This story is a great declaration how angry God is with sin. Now David, that good king, seeing the plague of God over the people, said unto God, " Lord, it is not they that have sinned, it is I myself, punish me, and let them alone ;" This was a good mind in David ; there be but few kings now that would do so. Now at the length God was moved with pity, and said unto the angel, *Sufficit, contine manum*, " It is enough, leave off :" By and by the plague ceased. Where you see how ready the angels of God be to do the Lord's

commandment. After that David was minded to be thankful unto God, and offer a great sacrifice unto him, and so remove the wrath of God: and therefore he made suit to one of his subjects for certain grounds to build an altar upon. The same man was willing to give it unto the king freely; but David would not take it at his hands. Where kings may learn, that it is not lawful for them to take away other men's lands, to their own use. This good king, David, would not take it when it was offered unto him. He did not as Ahab, the wicked man, which did Naboth wrong, in taking away his vineyard against his will. Another ensample, wherein appeareth how diligently the angels do God's commandments. Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, having a captain called Rabshakeh, which captain, after he had besieged Jerusalem, spake blasphemous words against God Almighty, saying to the Jews, " Think you that your God is able to help you, or to defend you from my hand ?" Now Hezekiah, that good king, hearing such blasphemous words to be spoken against God, fell to prayer, desired God for aid; sent for the prophet Isaiah, and asked him counsel. The end was, God sent his angels, which killed an hundred eighty-five thousand of the Assyrians in one night: the king himself scant escaped, and with great danger and fear gat him home. Here you see what a God our God is, whose will we ought to do. Therefore let us endeavour ourselves to do his will and pleasure; and when we are not able to do it, as we be not indeed, let us call unto him for help and aid.

The other heaven is called a corporal heaven, where the sun and the moon, and the stars are; which heaven doth God's commandment too. As it appeareth in the books of Joshua, and the Kings, how the sun stood at the commandment of God: also how the shadow went backward; like as Job saith, *Præcepisti soli, et non oritur,* " Thou gavest commandment to the sun, and it arose not." Therefore at the commandment of God, they kept their ordinary course, as God hath commanded them in the first beginning. Also the rain and the snow come at his commandment: in sum, nothing rebelleth in his estate wherein it was set at the first, but man: the man will not be ruled by him, all other things be obedient: rain cometh when God will have it, and snow at his time. We

read in Ahab's time, that Elias the prophet stopt the rain for three years and six months, for to punish the people ; whereof followed a great dearth. Afterward, at the request of the same Elias, God sent rain, which tempered the ground to bring fruits. I think there be some Elias abroad at this time, which stoppeth the rain, we have not had rain a good while. Therefore let us pray to God that we may do his will, and then we shall have all things necessary to soul and body. For what was this Elias ? *Obnoxius affectibus*, "A sinful man, born and conceived in sin :" yet God seeing his confidence, granted his requests. For he was a man that feared the Lord, and trusted in him : therefore God loved him, and heard his prayer. Therefore, I say, let us do as he did, then God will hear our prayers ; but we are fleshly, we are carnal, we can do nothing perfectly as we ought to do ; wherefore we have need to say with St. Augustine, *Domine, fac quæ præcipis et præcipe quod vis*, "Lord, do thou with me what thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt." For we of our own strength and power are not able to do his commandments ; but that lack our Saviour will supply with his fulfilling, and with his perfectness, he will take away our imperfectness. Now since we have spoken much of prayer, I will desire you let us pray together, and so make an end ; but you must pray with a penitent heart ; for God will not hear the prayer that proceedeth from an impenitent heart ; it is abominable in his sight. I desire you to say after me, " Our Father," &c. *Amen.*

THE
FIFTH SERMON
UPON
THE LORD'S PRAYER,
MADE BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

MATTHEW vi. 9.

Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.

Give us this day our daily bread.

THIS is a very good prayer, if a body should say no more at one time but that ; for as we see our need, so we shall pray ; when we see God's name to be dishonoured, blasphemed and ill spoken of, then a man, a faithful man, should say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name." When we see the devil reign, and all the world follow his kingdom, then we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, thy kingdom come." When we see that the world followeth her own desires and lusts, and not God's will and his commandments, and it grieveth us to see this, we be sorry for it ; we shall make our moan unto God for it, saying, "Our Father, which art in heaven, *Fiat voluntas tua*, thy will be done." When we lack necessaries for the maintenance of this life, every thing is dear, then we may say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, give us this day our daily bread." Therefore as we see cause, so we should pray. And it is better to say one of these short prayers with a good faith, than the whole psalter without faith.

By this now that I have said, you may perceive that the common opinion and estimation which the people have had of this prayer (the Lord's prayer, I say) is far from that that it is indeed. For it was esteemed for nothing ; for when we be disposed to despise a man, and call him an ignorant fool, we say, he cannot say his *Pater-noster*; and so we made it a light

matter, as though every man knew it. But I tell you it is a great matter, it containeth weighty things, if it be weighed to the very bottom, as a learned man could do: but as for me, that that I have learned out of the holy scripture, and learned men's books, which expound the same, I will shew unto you; but I intend to be short. I have been very long before in the other petitions, which something expound those that follow, therefore I will not tarry so long in them as I have done in the other.

"Give us this day our daily bread." Every word is to be considered, for they have their importance. This word "bread," signifieth all manner of sustenance for the preservation of this life; all things whereby man should live, are contained in this word "bread."

You must remember what I said by that petition, "Hallowed be thy name." There we pray unto God, that he will give us grace to live so, that we may with all our conversations and doings, hallow and sanctify him, according as his word telleth us. Now forasmuch as the preaching of God's word, is most necessary to bring us into this hallowing, we pray in the same petition for the office of preaching. For the sanctifying of the name of God cannot be, except the office of preaching be maintained, and his word be preached and known; therefore in the same petition, when I say, *Sanctificetur*, "Hallowed be thy name;" I pray that his word may be spread abroad and known, through which cometh sanctifying.

So likewise in this petition, "Give us this day our daily bread;" we pray for all those things which be necessary and requisite to the sustenance of our souls and bodies. Now the first and principal thing that we have need of in this life, is the magistrates; without a magistrate we should never live well and quietly. Then it is necessary and most needful to pray unto God for them, that the people may have rest, and apply their business, every man in his calling, the husbandman in tilling and ploughing, the artificer in his business. For you must ever consider, that where war is, there be all discommodities; no man can do his duty according unto his calling, as appeareth now in Germany, the emperor and the French king being at controversy: I warrant you there is little rest, or quietness. Therefore in this petition we pray

unto God for our magistrates, that they may rule and govern this realm well and godly, and keep us from invasions of alienates and strangers, and to execute justice, and punish malefactors: and this is so requisite, that we cannot live without it. Therefore when we say, " Give us this day our daily bread ;" we pray for the king, his counsellors, and all his officers. But not every man that saith these words, understandeth so much ; for it is obscurely included, so that none perceive it but those which earnestly and diligently consider the same. But St. Paul he expresseth i. with more words plainly, saying, *Pro regibus et qui in sublimitate constituti sunt*, " I exhort you to make supplications and prayers for all men, but specially for the kings, and for those which be aloft." Whereto ? *Ut placidam et quietam vitam agamus*, " That we may live godly and quietly, with all honesty and godliness." And when I pray for them, I pray for myself. For I pray for them that they may rule so, that I and all men may live under them quietly, and at rest. And to this end we desire a quiet life, that we may the better serve God, hear his word, and live after it.

For in the rebels' time, I pray you what godliness was shewed amongst them ? they went so far, as it was told, that they defiled other men's wives : what godliness was this ? In what estate think you were those faithful subjects which at the same time were amongst them ? they had sorrow enough, I warrant you.

So it appeareth, that where war is, there is right godliness banished and gone. Therefore to pray for a quiet life, that is as much as to pray for a godly life, that we may serve God in our calling, and get our livings uprightly. So it appeareth that praying for magistrates, is as much as to pray for ourselves.

They that be children, and live under the rule of their parents, or have tutors, they pray in this petition for their parents and tutors : for they be necessary for their bringing up ; and God will accept their prayer, as well as theirs which be of age. For God hath no respect of persons ; he is as ready to hear the youngest as the oldest ; therefore let them be brought up in godliness, let them know God. Let parents and tutors, do their duties to bring them up so, that as soon as their age

serveth, they may taste and savour God; let them fear God in the beginning, and so they shall do also when they be old. Because I speak here of orphans, I shall exhort you to be pitiful unto them, for it is a thing that pleaseth God, as St. James witnesseth, saying, *Religio pura, &c.*, "Pure religion, and undefiled before God, and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their afflictions, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

It is a common speech amongst the people, and much used, that they say, all religious houses are pulled down; which is a very peevish saying, and not true, for they are not pulled down. That man and that woman that live together godly and quietly; doing the works of their vocation, and fear God, hear his word and keep it; that same is a religious house; that is that house that pleaseth God. For religion, pure religion, I say, standeth not in wearing of a monk's cowl, but in righteousness, justice, and well-doing, and as St. James saith, in visiting the orphans, and widows that lack their husbands, orphans that lack their parents; to help them when they be poor, to speak for them when they be oppressed; herein standeth true religion, God's religion, I say; the other which was used, was an unreligious life, yea, rather an hypocrisy. There is a text in scripture; I never read it but I remember these religious houses; *Estque recta homini via, cuius tamen postremum iter est ad mortem.* "There is a way, which way seemeth to men to be good, whose end is eternal perdition." When the end is naught, all is naught.

So were these monks' houses, these religious houses; there were many people, specially widows, which would give over house-keeping, and go to such houses, when they might have done much good in maintaining of servants, and relieving of poor people, but they went their ways. What a madness was that!

Again, how much cause we have to thank God, that we know what is true religion, that God hath revealed unto us the deceitfulness of those monks, which had a goodly shew before the world of great holiness, but they were naught within. Therefore scripture saith, *Quod excelsum est hominibus, abominabile est coram Deo,* "That which is highly esteemed

before men, is abominable before God." Therefore that man and woman that live in the fear of God, are much better than their houses were.

I read once a story of a holy man, some say it was St. Anthony, which had been a long season in the wilderness, neither eating nor drinking any thing but bread and water; at the length he thought himself so holy, that there should be nobody like unto him. Therefore he desired of God to know who should be his fellow in heaven. God made him answer, and commanded him to go to Alexandria, there he should find a cobbler which should be his fellow in heaven. Now he went thither and sought him out, and fell in acquaintance with him, and tarried with him three or four days to see his conversation. In the morning his wife and he prayed together, then they went to their business, he in his shop, and she about her housewifery. At dinner time they had bread and cheese, wherewith they were well content, and took it thankfully. Their children were well taught to fear God, and to say their *Pater-noster*, and the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; and so he spent his time in doing his duty truly. I warrant you he did not so many false stitches as cobblers do now-adays. St. Anthony perceiving that, came to knowledge of himself, and laid away all pride and presumption.

By this ensample you may learn, that honest conversation and godly living, is much regarded before God; insomuch that this poor cobbler, doing his duty diligently, was made St. Anthony's fellow. So it appeareth, that we be not destituted of religious houses; those which apply to their business uprightly and hear God's word, they shall be St. Anthony's fellows; that is to say, they shall be numbered amongst the children of God.

Further, in this petition, the man and wife pray one for the other. For one is a help unto the other, and so necessary the one to the other; therefore they pray one for the other, that God will spare them their lives, to live together quietly and godly, according to his ordinance and institution; and this is good and needful. As for such as be not married, you shall know that I do not so much praise marriage, that I should think that single life is naught: as I have heard some which will scarce allow single life. They think in their hearts that all those

which be not married be naught: therefore they have a common saying amongst them: What? say they, they be made of such metal as we be made of, thinking them to be naught in their living; which suspicions are damnable afore God; for we know not what gifts God hath given unto them, therefore we cannot with good conscience condemn them or judge them. Truth it is, marriage is good and honourable amongst all men, as St. Paul witnesseth; *Et adulteros et fornicatores judicavit Dominus*, "And the Lord shall and will judge, that is, condemn adulterers, and whoremongers;" but not those which live in single life. When thou livest in lechery, or art a whore, or whoremonger, then thou shalt be damned: but when thou livest godly and honestly in single life, it is well and allowable afore God; yea, and better than marriage. For St. Paul saith, *Volo vos absque solicitudine esse*, "I will have you to be without carefulness," that is, unmarried; and sheweth the commodities; saying, "they that be unmarried, set their minds upon God, how to please him, and to live after his commandments. But as for the other, the man is careful how to please his wife; and again, the woman how to please her husband;" and this is St. Paul's saying of the one as well as of the other.

Therefore I will wish you not to condemn single life, but take one with the other; like as St. Paul teacheth us, not so extol the one, that we should condemn the other. For St. Paul praiseth as well single life, as marriage; yea, and more too. For those that be single, have more liberties to pray and to serve God, than the other: for they that be married, have much trouble and afflictions in their bodies. This I speak, because I hear that some there be which condemn single life. I would have them to know that matrimony is good, godly, and allowable unto all men: yet for all that, the single life ought not to be despised or condemned, seeing that scripture alloweth it; yea, and he affirmeth that it is better than matrimony, if it be clean without sin and offence.

Further, we pray here in this petition for good servants, that God will send unto us good, faithful, and trusty servants, for they are necessary for this bodily life, that our business may be done; and those which live in single life, have more need of good trusty servants than those which are married. Those which are married, can better over-see their servants.

For when the man is from home, at the least the wife over-seeth them, and keepeth them in good order. For I tell you, servants must be over-seen and looked to; if they be not overseen, what be they? It is a great gift of God to have a good servant, for the most part of servants are but eye-servants; when their master is gone, they leave off from their labour, and play the sluggards; but such servants do contrary to God's commandment, and shall be damned in hell for their slothfulness, except they repent. Therefore, I say, those that be unmarried have more need of good servants, than those which be married, for one of them at the least, may always over-see the family. For as I told you before, the most part of servants, be eye-servants; they be nothing when they be not over-seen.

There was once a fellow asked a philosopher a question, saying, *Quomodo saginatur equus*, "How is a horse made fat?" The philosopher made answer, saying, *Oculo domini*, "With his master's eye:" Not meaning that the horse should be fed with his master's eye, but that the master should oversee the horse, and take heed to the horse-keeper, that the horse might be well fed. For when a man rideth by the way, and cometh to his inn, and giveth unto the hostler his horse to walk, and so he himself sitteth at the table and maketh good cheer, and forgetteth his horse, the hostler cometh and saith, "Sir, how much bread shall I give unto your horse?" He saith, give him two-penny worth; I warrant you this horse shall never be fat. Therefore a man should not say to the hostler, go give him, but he should see himself that the horse have it. In like manner, those that have servants must not only command them what they shall do, but they must see that it be done; they must be present, or else it shall never be done. One other man asked that same philosopher this question, saying, What dung is it that maketh a man's land most fruitful in bringing forth much corn? Marry, said he, *Vestigia domini*, The owner's footsteps. Not meaning that the master should come and walk up and down, and tread the ground; but he would have him to come and oversee the servants tilling of the ground, commanding them to do it diligently, and so to look himself upon their work: this shall be the best dung, saith the philosopher. Therefore never trust servants,

except you may be assured of their diligence; for I tell you truly, I can come no where but I hear masters complaining of their servants. I think verily they fear not God, they consider not their duties. Well, I will burthen them with this one text of scripture, and then go forward in my matters. The prophet Jeremy saith, *Maledictus qui facit opus Domini negligenter.* Another translation hath *fraudulenter*, but it is one in effect: "Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently, or fraudulently," take which you will.

It is no light matter that God pronounceth them to be cursed. But what is cursed? what is it? Cursed is as much to say, as it shall not go well with them, they shall have no luck, my face shall be against them. Is not this a great thing? Truly consider it as you list, but it is no light matter to be cursed of God, which ruleth heaven and earth. And though the prophet speaketh these words of warriors going to war, yet it may be spoken of all servants, yea, of all estates, but specially of servants, for St. Paul saith, *Domino Christo servitis*, "You servants, (saith he,) you serve the Lord Christ, it is his work." Then when it is the Lord's work, take heed how you do it, for cursed is he that doth it negligently. But where is such a servant as Jacob was to Laban? How painful was he? How careful for his master's profit? Insomuch that when somewhat perished he restored it again of his own. And where is such a servant as Eleazer was to Abraham his master? what a journey had he? How careful he was, and when he came to his journey's end, he would neither eat nor drink afore he had done his master's message; so that all his mind was given only to serve his master, and to do according to his commandments: insomuch that he would neither eat nor drink till he had done according to his master's will. Much like to our Saviour's saying, *Cibus meus est ut faciam voluntatem ejus, qui misit me*, "This is my meat, to do the will of him that sent me." I pray you servants, mark this Eleazer well, consider all the circumstances of his diligent and faithful service, and follow it: else if you follow it not, you read it to your own condemnation. Likewise consider the true service which Joseph, that godly young man, did unto his master Potiphar, lieutenant of the tower: how faithfully he served, without any guile or fraud; therefore God pro-

moted him so, that he was made afterwards the ruler over all Egypt.

Likewise consider how faithful Daniel was in serving king Darius. Alack, that you servants be so stubborn-hearted and will not consider this, you will not remember that your service is the work of the Lord, you will not consider that the curse of God hangeth upon your heads for your slothfulness and negligence. Take heed, therefore, and look to your duties. Now further, whosoever prayeth this prayer with a good faithful heart, as he ought to do; he prayeth for all ploughmen and husbandmen, that God will prosper and increase their labour, for except he give the increase all their labour and travail is lost. Therefore it is needful to pray for them, that God may send his benediction by their labour, for without corn and such manner of sustenance, we cannot live. And in that prayer we include all artificers; for through their labours, God giveth us many commodities which we could not lack.

We pray also for wholesome air; and pray likewise for seasonable weather; when we have too much rain, we pray for fair weather; again, when we lack rain, we pray that God will send rain. And in that prayer we pray for our cattle, that God will preserve them to our use from all diseases: for without cattle we cannot live, we cannot till the ground, nor have meat, therefore we include them in our prayer too.

So you see that this prayer containeth innumerable things. For we pray for all such things as be expedient and needful for the preservation of this life. And not alone this, but we have here good doctrine and divers admonitions besides.

For here we be admonished of the liberality of God our heavenly Father, which he sheweth daily over us. For our Saviour knowing the liberality of God our heavenly Father, commandeth us to pray: if he would not give us the things we ask, Christ would not have commanded us to pray. If he had borne an ill will against us, Christ would not have sent us to him. But our Saviour knowing his liberal heart towards us, commandeth us to pray, and desire all things at his hands.

And here we be admonished of our estate and condition, what we be, namely, beggars. For we ask bread; of whom?

Marry, of God. What are we then? Marry, beggars: the greatest lords and ladies in England are but beggars afore God. Seeing then that we all are but beggars, why should we then disdain and despise poor men? Let us therefore consider that we but beggars: let us pull down our stomachs; for if we consider the matter well, we are like as they be afore God: for St. Paul saith, *Quid habes quod non accepisti?* "What hast thou that thou hast not received of God?" (1 Cor. iv.) Thou art but a beggar whatsoever thou art: and though there be some very rich, and have great abundance, of whom have they it? of God. What saith he, that rich man? He saith, "Our Father, which art in heaven; Give us this day our daily bread:" then he is a beggar afore God as well as the poorest man. Further, how continueth the rich man in his riches? Who made him rich? Marry, God. For it is written, *Benedictio Dei facit divitem*, "The blessing of God maketh rich:" except God bless, it standeth to no effect: for it is written, *Comedunt et non saturabuntur*, "They shall eat, but yet never be satisfied." Eat as much as you will, except God feed you, you shall never be full. So likewise as rich as a man is, yet he cannot augment his riches, nor keep that he hath, except God be with him, except he bless him; therefore let us not be proud, for we be beggars the best of us.

Note here, that our Saviour biddeth us to say, "us." This *us* lappeth in all other men with my prayer. For every one of us prayeth for another; when I say, "Give us this day our daily bread," I pray not for myself only, (if I ask as he biddeth me) but I pray for all others. Wherefore say I not, "Our Father, give me this day my daily bread?" For because God is not my God alone, he is a common God. And here we be admonished to be friendly, loving and charitable one to another: for what God giveth, I cannot say, this is my own; but I must say, this is ours. For the rich man cannot say, This is mine alone, God hath given it unto me for my own use. Nor yet hath the poor man any title unto it, to take it away from him. No, the poor man may not do so; for when he doth so, he is a thief afore God and man: but yet the poor man hath title to the rich man's goods; so that the rich man ought to let the poor man have part of his riches to

help and to comfort him withal. Therefore when God sendeth unto me much, it is not mine, but ours ; it is not given unto me alone, but I must help my poor neighbours withal.

But here I must ask you rich men a question. How chanceth it you have your riches ? We have them of God, you will say. But by what means have you them ? By prayer, you will say : we pray for them unto God, and he giveth us the same. Very well. But I pray you tell me, what do other men which are not rich ? pray they not as well as you do ? Yes, you must say ; for you cannot deny it. Then it appeareth that you have your riches not through your own prayers only, but other men help you to pray for them. For they say as well, " Our Father, give us this day our daily bread," as you do ; and peradventure they be better than you be, and God heareth their prayer sooner than yours. And so it appeareth most manifestly that you obtain your riches of God, not only through your own prayer, but through other men's too. Other men help you to get them at God's hand ? Then it followeth, that seeing you get not your riches alone through your own prayer but through the poor man's prayer, it is meet that the poor man should have part of them, and you ought to relieve his necessity and poverty.

But what meaneth God by this inequality, that he giveth to some an hundred pounds, unto this man five thousand pounds, unto this man in a manner nothing at all ? What meaneth he by this inequality ? Here he meaneth, that the rich ought to distribute his riches abroad amongst the poor : for the rich man is but God's officer, God's treasurer, he ought to distribute them according unto his Lord God's commandment. If every man were rich, then no man would do any thing : therefore God maketh some rich and some poor. Again ; that the rich may have where to exercise his charity, God made some rich and some poor : the poor he sendeth unto the rich to desire of him in God's name help and aid. Therefore, you rich men, when there cometh a poor man unto you, desiring your help, think none otherwise but God hath sent him unto you, and remember that thy riches be not thy own, but thou art but a steward over them. If thou wilt not do it, then cometh in St. John, which saith, " He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother lack, and helpeth him not, how remaineth the love

of God in him?" He speaketh not of them that have it not, but of them that have it: that same man loveth not God, if he help not his neighbour, having wherewith to do it. This is a sore and hard word: There be many which say with their mouth, they love God: and if a man should ask here this multitude whether they love God or no; they would say, Yes, God forbid else! But if you consider their unmercifulness unto the poor, you shall see, as St. John said, "the love of God is not within them." Therefore you rich men ever consider of whom you have your riches, be it a thousand pounds, yet you fetch it out of this petition. For this petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," is God's store-house, God's treasure-house: here lieth all his provision, and here you fetch it. But ever have in remembrance that this is a common prayer, a poor man prayeth as well as thou, and peradventure God sendeth this riches unto thee for another man's prayers' sake, which prayeth for thee, whose prayer is more effectual than thine own. And therefore you ought to be thankful unto other men, which pray for you unto God, and help you to obtain your riches. Again, this petition is a remedy against this wicked carefulness of men, when they seek how to live, and how to get their livings, in such wise, like as if there were no God at all. And then there be some which will not labour as God hath appointed unto them; but rather give them to falsehood, to sell false ware, and deceive their neighbours, or to steal other men's sheep or conies, those fellows are far wide, let them come to God's treasure-house, that is to say, let them come to God and call upon him with a good faith, saying, "Our Father, give us this day our daily bread;" truly God will hear them. For this is the only remedy that we have here on earth, to come to this his treasure-house, and fetch there such things as we lack. Consider this word "daily." God promiseth us to feed us daily. If ye believe this, why use you then falsehood, and deceit? Therefore good people leave your falsehood, get you rather to this treasure-house; then you may be sure of a living: for God hath determined that all that come unto him, desiring his help, they shall be holpen; God will not forget them. But our unbelief is so great, we will not come unto him, we will rather go about to get our living with falsehood, than desire the same of him.

O what falsehood is used in England, yea, in the whole world ! It were not marvel if the fire from heaven fell upon us, like as it did upon the Sodomites, only for our falsehood's sake ! I will tell you of some which are practised in my country where I dwell. But I will not tell it you to teach you to do the same, but rather to abhor it : for those which use such deceitfulness, shall be damned world without end, except they repent. I have known some that had a barren cow, they would fain have had a great deal of money for her, therefore they go and take a calf of another cow, and put it to this barren cow, and so come to the market, pretending that this cow hath brought this calf, and so they sell their barren cow six or eight shillings dearer than they should have done else. The man which bought the cow cometh home, peradventure he hath a many children, and hath no more cattle but this cow, and thinketh he shall have some milk for his children ; but when all things cometh to pass, this is a barren cow, and so this poor man is deceived. The other fellow which sold the cow, thinketh himself a jolly fellow, and a wise merchant, and he is called one that can make shift for himself. But I tell thee, whosoever thou art, do so if thou lust, thou shalt do it of this price, thou shalt go to the devil, and there be hanged on the fiery gallows world without end ; and thou art as very a thief as when thou takest a man's purse from him going by the way, and thou sinnest as well against this commandment, *Non facies furtum*, " Thou shalt do no theft." But these fellows commonly, which use such deceitfulness and guiles, can speak so finely, that a man would think butter should scant melt in their mouths.

I tell you one other falsehood : I know that some husbandmen go to the market with a quarter of corn : now they would fain sell dear the worst as well as the best, therefore they use this policy ; they go and put a strike of fine malt or corn in the bottom of the sack, then they put two strikes of the worst that they had, then a good strike aloft in the sack's mouth, and so they come to the market. Now there cometh a buyer, asking, Sir, is this good malt ? I warrant you, saith he, there is no better in this town ; and so he selleth all the malt or corn for the best, when there be but two strikes of the best in his sack. The man that buyeth it, thinketh he hath good malt,

he cometh home : when he putteth the malt out of the sack, the strike which was in the bottom covereth the ill malt which was in the midst, and so the good man shall never perceive the fraud, till he cometh to the occupying of the corn : the other man that sold it, taketh this for a policy, but it is theft afore God, and he is bound to make restitution of so much as those two strikes which were naught, were sold too dear ; so much he ought to restore, or else he shall never come to heaven, if God be true in his word.

I could tell you of one other falsehood, how they make wool to weigh much, but I will not tell it you. If you learn to do those falsehoods whereof I have told you now, then take the sauce with it ; namely, that you shall never see the bliss of heaven, but be damned world without end, with the devil and all his angels : Now go when it please you, use falsehood. But I pray you, wherefore will you deceive your neighbour, whom you ought to love as well as your own self ? Consider the matter, good people, what a dangerous thing it is to fall in the hands of the ever-living God : leave falsehood : abhor it, be true and faithful in your calling, *Querite regnum Dei, et justitiam ejus, et cetera omnia adjicientur vobis,* “ Seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof : then all things necessary for you, shall come unto you unlooked for.”

Therefore in this petition, note first God’s goodness, how gentle he is towards us, insomuch that he would have us to come unto him and take of him all things. Then again, note what we be, namely, beggars, for we beg of him ; which admonisheth us to leave stoutness and proudness, and to be humble.

Note what is, “ our ;” namely, that one prayeth for another, and that this storehouse is common unto all men.

Note again, what we be when we be false, the children of the devil, and enemies unto God.

There be some men which would have this petition not to import or contain these bodily things, as things which be too vile to be desired at God’s hand : therefore they expound it altogether spiritually, of things pertaining unto the soul only, which opinion truly I do not greatly like ; for shall I trust God for my soul, and shall I not trust him for my body ?

Therefore I take it that all things necessary to soul and body are contained in this petition : and we ought to seek all things necessary to our bodily food, only in this storehouse.

But you must not take my sayings after such sort, as though you should do nothing but sit and pray ; and yet you should have your dinner and supper made ready for you. No, not so; but you must labour, you must do the work of your vocation, *Querite regnum Dei*, “ Seek the kingdom of heaven;” you must set those two things together, works and prayer. He that is true in his vocation, doth according as God willeth him to do, and then pray they unto God ; that man or woman may be assured of their living ; as sure, I say, as God is God. As for the wicked indeed God of his exceeding mercy and liberality findeth them ; and sometimes they fare better than the good man doth : but for all that the wicked man hath ever an ill conscience ; he doth wrong unto God, he is an usurper, he hath no right unto it: the good and godly man he hath right unto it, for he cometh by it lawfully, by his prayer and travail. But these covetous men, think ye, say they this prayer with a faithful heart ? “ Our Father, which art in heaven ; Give us this day our daily bread :” Think ye they say it from the bottom of their hearts ? No, no ; they do but mock God, they laugh him to scorn, when they say these words. For they have their bread, their silver and gold in their coffers, in their chests, in their bags or budgets ; therefore they have no savour of God ; else they would shew themselves liberal unto their poor neighbours, they would open their chests and bags, and lay out and help their brethren in Christ. They be as yet but scorners; they say this prayer like as the Turk might say it.

Consider this word “ Give ;” certainly we must labour, yet we must not so magnify our labour as though we gat our living by it. For labour as long as thou wilt, thou shalt have no profit by it, except the Lord increase thy labour. Therefore we must thank him for it ; he doth it, he giveth it: to whom ? *Laboranti et poscenti*, “ Unto him that laboureth and prayeth :” that man that is so disposed shall not lack, as he saith, *Dabit Spiritum Sanctum poscentibus illum*, “ He will give the Holy Ghost unto them that desire the same.” Then we must ask ; for he giveth not to sluggards. Indeed they have his benefits ; they live wealthily ; but as I told you afore, they

have it with an ill conscience, not lawfully. Therefore Christ saith, *Solem suum oriri sinit super justos et injustos*, “ He suffers his sun to rise upon the just and unjust.” Also; *Nemo scit an odio vel amore sit dignus*, “ We cannot tell outwardly by these worldly things, which be in the favour of God, and which be not :” for they be common unto good and bad ; but the wicked have it not with a good conscience. The upright good man hath his living through his labour and faithful prayer ; beware that you trust not in your labour, as though ye got your living by it : for, as St. Paul saith, “ *Qui plantat nihil est, qui rigat, sed qui dat incrementum Deus*,” “ Neither he that planteth is ought, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.” (1 Cor. iii.) Except God give the increase, all our labour is lost. They that be the children of this world, as covetous persons, extortioners, oppressors, caterpillars, usurers, think you they come to God’s storehouse ? No, no, they do not ; they have not the understanding of it ; they cannot tell what it meaneth. For they look not to get their livings at God’s storehouse, but rather they think to get it with deceit and falsehood, with oppression, and wrong doings : For they think, that all things be lawful unto them ; therefore they think that though they take other men’s goods through subtlety and crafts it is no sin.

But I tell you, those things which we buy, or get with our labour, or are given us by inheritance, or otherways, those things be ours by the law, which maketh *meum* an *tuum*, mine and thine. Now all things gotten otherwise are not ours ; as those things which be gotten by crafty conveyances, by guile and fraud, by robbery and stealing, by extortion and oppression, by hand-making, (or howsoever you come by it beside the right way) it is not yours ; insomuch that you may not give it for God’s sake, for God hateth it.

But you will say, What shall we do with the goods gotten by unlawful means ? Marry, I tell thee, make restitution ; which is the only way that pleaseth God. O Lord, what bribery, falsehood, deceiving, false getting of goods is in England ! And yet for all that, we hear nothing of restitution ; which is a miserable thing. I tell you, none of them which have taken their neighbour’s goods from him by any manner of falsehood, none of them, I say, shall be saved, except they

make restitution, either in affect or effect; in effect, when they be able: in affect, when they be not able in no wise. Ezekiel saith, *Si impius egerit penitentiam, et rapinam reddiderit*, "When the ungodly doth repent, and restoreth the goods gotten wrongfully and unlawfully." For unlawful goods ought to be restored again; without restitution, look not for salvation. Also this is a true sentence used of St. Augustine, *Non remittetur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum*, "Robbery, falsehood, or otherwise ill-gotten goods, cannot be forgiven of God, except it be restored again." Zaccheus, that good publican, that common officer, he gave good ensample unto all bribers and extortioners. I would they all would follow his ensample; he exercised not open robbery, he killed no man by the way, but with crafts and subtilties he deceived the poor. When the poor men came to him, he bad them to come again another day; and so delayed the time, till at the length he wearie dpoor men, and so gat somewhat of them. Such fellows are now in our time very good cheap; but they will not learn the second lesson. They have read the first lesson, how Zaccheus was a bribe-taker, but they will not read the second; they say A, but they will not say B. What is the second lesson? *Si quem defraudavi reddam quadruplum*, If I have deceived any man, I will restore it fourfold." But we may argue that they be not such fellows as Zaccheus was, for we hear nothing of restitution; they lack right repentance.

It is a wonderful thing to see, that christian people will live in such an estate, wherein they know themselves to be damned; for when they go to bed, they go in the name of the devil. *In summa*, (finally) whatsoever they do, they do it in his name, because they be out of the favour of God. God loveth them not; therefore, I say, it is to be lamented that we hear nothing of restitution. St. Paul saith, *Qui furabatur non amplius furetur*, "He that stole, let him steal no more." Which words teach us, !that he which hath stolen or deceived, and keepeth it, he is a strong thief so long till he restore again the thing taken; and shall look for no remission of his sins at God's hand, till he hath restored again such goods.

There be some which say, repentance or contrition will serve; it is enough when I am sorry for it. Those fellows cannot tell what repentance meaneth. Look upon Zaccheus,

he did repent, but restitution by and by followed. So let us do too ; let us live uprightly and godly ; and when we have done amiss, or deceived any body, let us make restitution : and after, beware of such sins, of such deceitfulness, but rather let us call upon God, and resort to his storehouse, and labour faithfully and truly for our livings. Whosoever is so disposed, him God will favour, and he shall lack nothing : as for the other impenitent sluggards, they be devourers and usurpers of God's gifts, and therefore shall be punished world without end in everlasting fire.

Remember this word "our ;" what it meaneth I told you. And here I have occasion to speak of the properties of things : for I fear if I should leave it so, some of you would report me wrongfully, and affirm, that all things should be common : I say not so. Certain it is, that God hath ordained properties of things, so that that which is mine, is not thine ; and what thou hast I cannot take from thee. If all things were common, there could be no theft, and so this commandment, *Non facies furtum*, "Thou shall not steal," were in vain ; but it is not so. The laws of the realm make *meum et tuum*, mine and thine. If I have things by those laws, then I have them well. But this you must not forget, that St. Paul saith, *Sitis necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes*, "Relieve the necessity of those which have need." Things are not so common that another man may take my goods from me, for this is theft ; but they are so common, that we ought to distribute them unto the poor, to help them, and to comfort them with it : we ought one to help another ; for this is a standing sentence, *Qui habuerit substantiam hujus mundi, et viderit fratrem suum necessitatem habere, et clauderit viscera sua ab eo, quomodo charitas Dei manet in eo ?* "He that hath the substance of this world, and shall see his brother to have need, and shutteth up his entire affection from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him ?" (1 John iii.)

There was a certain manner of having things in common in the time of the apostles. For some good men, as Barnabas was, sold their lands and possessions, and brought the money unto the apostles : but that was done for this cause, there was a great many of christian people at that time entreated very ill, insomuch that they left all their goods : now such folk came

to the apostles for aid and help : therefore those which were faithful men, seeing the poverty of their brethren, went and sold that that they had, and spent the money amongst such poor which were newly made christians. Amongst others which sold their goods, there was one Ananias and Sapphira his wife, two very subtil persons, they went and sold their goods too, but they played a wise part, they would not stand in danger of the losing of all their goods : therefore they agreed together and took the one part from the money and laid it up ; with the other part they came to Peter, affirming that to be the whole money. For they thought in their hearts, like as all unfaithful men do, we cannot tell how long this religion shall abide ; it is good to be wise, and keep somewhat in store whatsoever shall happen.

Now Peter knowing by the Holy Ghost their falsehood, first slew him with one word, and after her too : which indeed is a fearful ensample, whereby, we should be monished to beware of lies and falsehood. For though God punish thee not by and by, as he did this Ananias, yet he shall find thee ; surely, he will not forget thee. Therefore learn here to take heed of falsehood, and beware of lies. For this Ananias, this wilful Ananias, I say, because of this wilful lie, went to hell with his wife ; and there shall be punished world without end ; where you see what a grievous thing it is to make a lie. This Ananias needed not to sell his lands, he had no such commandment ; but seeing he did so, and then came and brought but half the price, making a pretence as though he had brought all, for that he was punished so grievously.

O what lies are made nowadays in England, here and there in the markets ; truly it is a pitiful thing that we nothing consider it. This one ensample of Ananias and Sapphira, their punishment, is able to condemn the whole world. You have heard now how men had things in common in the first church : but St. Paul he teacheth us how things ought to be in common amongst us, saying, *Sitis necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes*, " Help the necessity of those which be poor." Our good is not so ours, that we may do with it what us listeth ; but we ought to distribute it unto them which have need. No man, as I told you before, ought to take away my goods from me, but I ought to distribute that that I may

spare, and help the poor withal. Saith St. Paul, *Communi-
cantes necessitatibus*, “Distribute them unto the poor, let them
lack nothing; but help them with such things as you may
spare.” For so it is written, *Cui plus datum est, plus re-
quiretur ab illo*, “He that hath much, must make account
for much; and if he have not spent it well, he must make the
heavier account.” But I speak not this to let poor folks
from labour; for we must labour and do the works of our
vocation, every one in his calling; for so it is written, *Labores
manuum tuarum manducabis et bene tibi erit*, “Thou shalt
eat thy hand-labour, and it shall go well with thee.” That is
to say, every man shall work for his living, and shall not be a
sluggard, as a great many be: every man shall labour and
pray, then God will send him his living. St. Paul saith, *Qui
non laborat, non comedat*, “He that laboureth not, let him
not eat.” Therefore those lubbers which will not labour, and
micht labour, it is a good thing to punish them according unto
the king’s most godly statutes. For God himself saith, *In
sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo*, “In the sweat of thy face
thou shalt eat thy bread.” Then cometh in St. Paul, who saith.
Magis autem laboret, ut det indigentibus, “Let him labour
the sorer, that he may have wherewith to help the poor.” And
Christ himself saith: *Melius est dare quam accipere*, “It is
better to give than to take.” So Christ, and all his apostles,
yea, the whole scripture admonisheth us ever of our neighbour,
to take heed of him, to be pitiful unto him: but God knoweth
there be a great many which care little for their neighbours.
They do like as Cain did, when God asked him, “Cain,
where is thy brother Abel?” What, saith he, am I my
brother’s keeper? So these rich franklings, these covetous
fellows, they scrape all to themselves, they think they should
care for nobody else but for themselves: God commandeth
the poor man to labour the sorer, to the end that he may be
able to help his poor neighbour: how much more ought the
rich to be liberal unto them?

But you will say, here is a marvellous doctrine, which
commandeth nothing but give, give; if I shall follow this
doctrine, I shall give so much, that at the length, I shall
have nothing left for myself. These be words of infidelity;
he that speaketh such words, is a faithless man. And I pray

you tell me, have ye heard of any man that came to poverty, because he gave unto the poor? Have you heard tell of such a one? No, I am sure you have not. And I dare lay my head to pledge for it, that no man living hath come, or shall hereafter come to poverty, because he hath been liberal in helping the poor. For God is a true God, and no liar: he promiseth us in his word, that we shall have the more by giving to the needy. Therefore the way to get, is to scatter that that you have. Give, and you shall gain. If you ask me, how shall I get riches, I make thee this answer: Scatter that that thou hast, for giving, is gaining. But you must take heed, and scatter it according unto God's will and pleasure; that is, to relieve the poor withal, to scatter it amongst the flock of Christ; whosoever giveth so, shall surely gain; for Christ saith, *Date, et dabitur vobis*, "Give, and it shall be given unto you." *Dabitur*, it shall be given unto you. This is a sweet word, we can well away with that; but how shall we come by it? *Date*, Give.

This is the way to get, to relieve the poor. Therefore this is a false and wicked proposition, to think that with giving unto the poor, we shall come to poverty. What a giver was Lot, that good man; came he to poverty through giving? No, no; he was a great rich man. Abraham, the father of all believers, what a liberal man was he? insomuch that he sat by his door watching when any body went by the way, that he might call him, and relieve his necessity. What, came he to poverty? No, no: he died a great rich man. Therefore let us follow the ensample of Lot and Abraham: let us be liberal, and then we shall augment our stock. For this is a most certain and true word, *Date, et dabitur vobis*, "Give, and it shall be given unto you;" but we believe it not, we cannot away with it. The most part of us are more given to take from the poor, than to relieve their poverty. They be so careful for their children, that they cannot tell when they be well; they purchase this house and that house, but what saith the prophet? *Væ, qui conjungitis domum domui*, "Wo be unto you that join house to house;" the curse of God hangeth over your heads. Christ saith, *Qui diligit patrem vel matrem vel filios plus quam me non est me dignus*, "He that loveth his father or mother, or children more than me, he is not meet

for me." Therefore those which scrape and gather ever for their children, and in the mean season forget the poor, whom God would have relieved, those, I say, regard their children more than God's commandments: for their children must be set up, and the poor miserable people is forgotten in the mean season.

There is a common saying amongst the worldlings; Happy is that child whose father goeth to the devil: but this is a worldly happiness. The same is seen when the child can begin with two hundred pounds, whereas his father began with nothing; it is a wicked happiness, if the father gat those goods wickedly. And there is no doubt but many a father goeth to the devil for his child's sake; in that he neglected God's commandment, scraped for his child, and forgat to relieve his poor miserable neighbour.

We have in scripture, *Qui misereatur pauperis, fæneratur Deo*, " Whosoever hath pity over the poor, he lendeth unto God upon usury;" that is to say, God will give it unto him again, with increase: this is a lawful and godly usury.

Certain it is, that usury was allowed by the laws of this realm; yet it followed not that usury was godly, nor allowed before God. For it is not a good argument, to say, it is forbidden to take ten pounds of the hundred; *ergo*, I may take five? Like as a thief cannot say, it is forbidden in the law to steal thirteen-pence half-penny; *ergo*, I may steal six-pence, or three-pence, or two-pence. No, no; this reasoning will not serve afore God: for though the law of this realm hangeth him not, if he steal four-pence, yet for all that he is a thief before God, and shall be hanged on the fiery gallows in hell. So he that occupieth usury, though by the laws of this realm he might do it without punishment, for the laws are not so precise; yet for all that, he doth wickedly in the sight of God. For usury is wicked before God, be it small or great; like as theft is wicked.

But I will tell you how you shall be usurers to get much gain; Give it unto the poor, then God will give it to thee with gain; give twenty-pence, and thou shalt have forty-pence. It shall come again, thou shalt not lose it, or else God is not God. What needeth it to use such deceitfulness, and falsehood to get riches? Take a lawful way to get them,

that is to scatter this abroad that thou hast, and then thou shalt have it again, with great gains; *quadruplum*, “four-times,” saith scripture. Now God’s word saith, that I shall have again that which I laid out with usury, with gain. Is it true that God saith? Yes: then let me not think, that giving unto the poor doth diminish my stock, when God saith the contrary; namely, that it shall increase; or else we make God a liar. For if I believe not his sayings, then by mine infidelity I make him a liar, as much as is in me.

Therefore learn here to commit usury; and specially you rich men, you must learn this lesson well, for of you it is written; “Whosoever hath much, must make account for much;” and you have much, not to that end, to do with it what you lust, but you must spend it as God appointeth you in his word to do: for no rich man can say before God, This is my own. No, he is but an officer over it, an almoner, God’s treasurer. Our Saviour saith, *Omnis qui reliquerit agrum, &c., centuplum accipiet*, “Whosoever shall leave his field, shall receive it again an hundred fold.” As, if I should be examined now of the papists, if they should ask me, Believe you in the mass? I say, No; according unto God’s word, and my conscience; it is naught, it is but deceitfulness, it is the devil’s doctrine. Now I must go to prison, I leave all things behind me, wife and children, goods and land, and all my friends: I leave them for Christ’s sake, in his quarrel. What saith our Saviour unto it, *Centuplum accipiet*, “I shall have an hundred times so much.” Now though this be spoken in such wise, yet it may be understood of alms-giving too. For that man or woman that can find in their hearts for God’s sake to leave ten shillings or ten pounds, they shall have an hundred fold again in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting. If this will not move our hearts, then they are more than stony and flinty; then our damnation is just and well deserved.

For to give alms, it is like as when a man cometh unto me, and desireth an empty purse of me: I lend him the purse, he cometh by and by and bringeth it full of money, and giveth it me: so that I have now my purse again, and the money too. So it is to give alms, we lend an empty purse, and take a full purse for it. Therefore let us persuade our-

selves in our hearts, that to give for God's sake, is no loss unto us, but great gain. And truly the poor man doth more for the rich man in taking things of him, than the rich doth for the poor in giving them. For the rich giveth but only worldly goods, but the poor giveth him by the promise of God all felicity.

Quotidianum, "Daily." Here we learn to cast away all carefulness, and to come to this storehouse of God, where we shall have all things competent both for our souls and bodies. Further, in this petition we desire that God will feed not only our bodies but also our souls: and so we pray for the office of preaching. For like as the body must be fed daily with meat, so the soul requireth her meat, which is the word of God. Therefore we pray here for all the clergy, that they may do their duties, and feed us with the word of God according to their calling. Now I have troubled you long, therefore I will make an end: I desire you remember to resort to this storehouse; whatsoever ye have need of, come hither, here are all things necessary for your soul and body, only desire them. But you have heard how you must be apparelled; you must labour and do your duties, and then come, and you shall find all things necessary for you: and specially now at this time let us resort unto God, for it is a great drought, as we think, and we had need of rain. Let us therefore resort unto our loving Father, which promiseth, that when we call upon him with a faithful heart, he will hear us. Let us therefore desire him to rule the matter so, that we may have our bodily sustenance. We have the ensample of Elias, whose prayer God heard: Therefore let us pray this prayer, which our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ himself taught us, saying, "Our Father which art in heaven," &c. *Amen.*

THE
SIXTH SERMON
UPON
THE LORD'S PRAYER,
MADE BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

MATTHEW vi. 12.

Et remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris.

And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.

THIS is a very good prayer, if it be said in faith with the whole heart. There was never none that did say it with the heart, but he had forgiveness, and his trespasses and all his sins were pardoned and taken from him. As touching the former petitions, I told you that many things were contained in them ; which you may perceive partly by that I have said, and partly by gatherings and conjectures. Truly there is a great doctrine in it, yet we think it to be but a light matter to understand the Lord's prayer, but it is a great thing. Therefore I would have you to mark it well : but specially keep in your remembrance how our Saviour teacheth us to know the liberality of God, how God hath determined to help us ; insomuch that we shall lack nothing, if we come to his treasure-house, where is locked up all things necessary for our souls and bodies.

Further, consider by the same petition that we be but beggars altogether. For the best of us hath need to say daily, "Our Father, give us this day our daily bread." I would these proud and lofty fellows would consider this, namely, that they be but beggars, as St. Paul saith, *Quid habes quod non accepisti*, " What have ye, that you have not gotten with begging?"

Yet most above all things, I would have you to consider this word "our," for in that word are contained great mysteries and much learning. All those that pray this prayer, that is to say, all Christian people, help me to get my living at God's

hand; for when they say “our,” they include me in their prayers.

Again, consider the remedy against carefulness, which is to trust in God, to hang upon him, to come to his treasure-house, and then to labour, and to do the works of our vocation: then undoubtedly God will provide for us, we shall not lack. Therefore learn to trust upon the Lord, and leave this wicked carefulness, whereof our Saviour monisheth us.

Specially I would have you to consider what a wicked opinion this is, to fantasy that giving to the poor is a diminishing of our goods. I told you of late of the proprieties of things, how things be ours, and how they be not ours; all those things which we have, either by labour or by inheritance, or else by gifts, or else by buying, all those things which we have by such titles be our own; but yet not so, that we may spend them according to our own pleasure. They be ours upon the condition that we shall spend them to the honour of God, and the relieving of our neighbours. And here I speake of restitution; how we ought to make amends unto that man whom we have deceived or taken goods wrongfully from him. There be some men which think there is no other theft but only taking purses, and killing men by the way, or stealing other men's goods: Those men are much deceived; for there be *varia genera furti*, “A great number of thieves.”

What was this but a theft, when Isaiah saith, *Principes tui infideles, socii furum*, “Thy princes are infidels, and are companions with thieves.” This was a theft, but it was not a common theft: it was a lordly theft: they could tell how to weary men, and so to take bribes of them. Such a one was Zaccheus; he robbed not men by the highway, but he was an oppressor, and forced men to pay more than they ought to pay; which his so doing, was as well a theft, as if he had robbed men by the highway. There be many which follow Zaccheus in his illness, but there be but few, or none at all which will follow him in his goodness, *Si quem defraudavi reddam quadruplum*, “If I have deceived any man, I will pay it again fourfold.” I would wish that all bribers and false tollers would follow his ensample. But I tell you, without restitution, there is no salvation: this is a certain sentence, allowed and approved, first, by the holy scripture; secondarily, by all the

writers that ever wrote upon scripture; yea, the very school doctors, as bad as they were, yet they never contraried in that, but said, *Restitutionis fama, ac rerum sunt opera debita*, "We ought to make restitution of a man's good name, and of his goods taken from him wrongfully:" that is to say, when we have slandered any body, we ought to make him amends. *Item*, Also, when we have taken any man's goods wrongfully, we ought to make him amends; else we shall never be saved, for God abhorreth me, and all things that I do are abominable before him.

Remitte, "Forgive;" who is in this world which hath not need to say, "Lord, forgive me?" No man living, nor never was, nor shall be, our Saviour only excepted: he was *Agnus immaculatus*, "An undefiled Lamb." I remember a verse which I learned almost forty years ago, which is this: *Sæpe precor mortem, mortemque deprecor idem*, "I pray many times for death to come; and again I pray, that he shall not come." This verse doth put diversity in *precor* and *deprecor*; *precor* is, when I would fain have a thing; *deprecor* is, when I would avoid it. Like as Elias the prophet, when Jezebel had killed the prophets of the Lord, Elias being in a hole in the mount, desired of God to die; and this is *precor*. Now *deprecor* is his *contrarium*, when I would avoid the thing, then I use *deprecor*. Now in the Lord's prayer till hither, we have been in *precor*, that is to say, we have desired things at God's hand. Now cometh *deprecor*, I desire him now to remove such things which may do me harm: as sin, which doth harm: therefore I would have him to take away my trespasses. Now who is in the world, or ever hath been, which hath not need to say this *deprecor*, to desire God to take from him his sins; to "forgive him his trespasses." Truly, no saint in heaven, be they as holy as ever they will, yet they have had need of this *deprecor*; they have had need to say, "Lord, forgive us our trespasses." Now you ask wherein standeth our righteousness? Answer, in that, that God forgiveth unto us our unrighteousness. Wherein standeth our goodness? In that, that God, taketh away our illness; so that our goodness standeth in his goodness.

In the other petition we desire all things necessary for our bodily life, as long as we be here in this world; *Unusquisque enim tempus certum habet predefinitum à Domino*, "For

every man hath a certain time appointed him of God, and God hideth that same time from us." For some die in young age, some in old age, according as it pleaseth him. He hath not manifested to us the time, because he would have us at all times ready: else if I knew the time, I would presume upon it, and so should be worse. But he would have us ready at all times, and therefore he hideth the time of our death from us. And it is a common saying, There do come as many skins of calves to the market, as there do of bulls or kine. But of that we may be sure, there shall not fall one hair from our head without his will; and we shall not die before the time that God hath appointed unto us; which is a comfortable thing, specially in time of sickness or wars. For there be many men which are afraid to go to war, and to do the king service, for they fear ever they shall be slain.

Item, also vicars and parsons be afraid when there cometh a sickness in the town; therefore they were wont commonly to get themselves out of the way, and send a friar thither, which did nothing else but rob and spoil them: which doings of the vicar was damnable; for it was a diffidence and a mistrust in God. Therefore, ye vicars, parsons, or curates, what name soever you bear, when there cometh any sickness in your town, leave not your flock without a pastor, but comfort them in their distress; and believe certainly that with your well-doings you cannot shorten your lives. Likewise, thou subject, when thou art commanded by the king, or his officers, to go to war, to fight against the king's enemies; go with a good heart and courage, not doubting but that God will preserve thee, and that thou canst not shorten thy life with well-doing. Peradventure God hath appointed thee to die there, or to be slain; happy art thou when thou diest in God's quarrel. For to fight against the king's enemies, being called unto it by the magistrates, it is God's service: therefore when thou diest in that service with a good faith, happy art thou.

There be some which say, when their friends are slain in battle, O, if he had tarried at home, he should not have lost his life. These sayings are naught: for God hath appointed every man his time. To go to war in presumptuousness, without an ordinary calling, such going to war I allow not: but when thou art called, go in the name of the Lord; and be well assured in

thy heart, that thou canst not shorten thy life with well-doing.

Remittit; “ Forgive us ;” Here we sue for our pardon : and so we acknowledge ourselves to be offenders. For the unguilty needeth no pardon. This pardon, or remission of sins, is so necessary, that no man can be saved without it. Therefore of remission standeth the christian man's life ; for so saith David, *Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniuriantes et quorum tecta sunt peccata.* “ Who is blessed of God ? Marry, he whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered.” He saith not ; blessed be they which have never sinned : for where dwell such fellows which never sinned ? Marry, no where ; they are not to be gotten. Here the prophet signified that all we be sinners ; for he saith, *quorum peccata sunt remissa,* “ whose sins are pardoned.” And here we be painted out in our colours, else we would be proud ; and so he saith in the gospel ; *Cum sitis mali,* “ Forasmuch as we be all evil.” There he giveth us our own title and name, calling us wicked and ill. There is neither man nor woman that can say they have no sin ; for we be all sinners. But how can we hide our sins ? Marry, the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ hideth our sins and washeth them away. And though one man had done all the world's sins since Adam's time, yet he may be remedied by the blood of Jesus Christ ; if he believe in him he shall be cleansed from all his sins. Therefore all our comfort is in him, in his love and kindness. For St. Paul saith, *Charitas operit multitudinem peccatorum,* “ Charity covereth the multitude of sins.” So it doth indeed ; the love of our Saviour Jesu Christ, his love towards us, covereth and taketh away all our sins ; insomuch that almighty God shall not condemn us, nor the devil shall not prevail against us. Our nature is ever to hide sin, and to cloak it ; but this is a wicked hiding, and this hiding will not serve : *Videt et requiret,* “ He seeth our wickedness,” and he will punish them ; therefore our hiding cannot serve us. But if you be disposed to hide your sins, I will tell you how you shall hide them.

First, Acknowledge them, and then believe in our Saviour Christ, put him in trust withal ; he will pacify his Father ; for, “ to that end he came into the world, to save sinners.” This is the right way to hide sins, not to go and excuse them,

or to make them no sins. No, no; the prophet saith, *Beatus vir cui Dominus non imputat iniuriam*, “Blessed is that man to whom the Lord imputeth not his sins,” Psal. lxxi. He saith not, Blessed is he that did never sin; but blessed is he to whom sin is not imputed.

And so here in this petition we pray for remission of our sins, which is so requisite to the beginning of the spiritual life, that no man can come thereto, except he pray for remission of his sins; which standeth in Christ our Redeemer: he hath washen and cleansed our sins, by him we shall be clean. But how shall we come to Christ? How shall we have him? I hear that he is beneficial, as Scripture witnesseth, *Copiosa est apud Deum redemptio*, “There is full and plenteous redemption by him.” But how shall I get that? How shall I come unto it? Marry, by faith: faith is the hand wherewith we receive his benefits; therefore we must needs have faith. But how shall we obtain faith? Faith indeed bringeth Christ, and Christ bringeth remission of sins: But how shall we obtain faith? Answer, St. Paul teacheth us this, saying, *Fides ex auditu*, “Faith cometh by hearing God’s word.” Then if we will come to faith, we must hear God’s word: if we must hear God’s word, then we must have preachers which be able to tell us God’s word. And so it appeareth, that in this petition we pray for preachers; we pray unto God, that he will send men amongst us, which may teach us the way of everlasting life.

Truly it is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected, scholars not maintained, every true Christian ought to lament the same. But I have a good hope, since God hath done greater things in taking away and extirpating out all popery, that he will send us a remedy for this matter too. I hope he will put into the magistrate’s heart, to consider those things; for by this office of preaching, God sendeth faith. This office is the office of salvation; “for it hath pleased God,” *per stultitiam predicationis salvos facere credentes*, “by the foolishness of preaching to save the believers.” So, I say, we pray for this office which bringeth faith; faith bringeth to Christ; Christ bringeth remission of sins, remission of sins bringeth everlasting life.

O this is a godly prayer, which we ought at all times to say, for we sin daily; therefore we had need to say daily, Forgive

us our trespasses ; and, as David saith, *Ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo*, " Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant ; " for we be not able to abide his judgment ; if it were not for this pardon, which we have in our Saviour Jesu Christ, we should all perish eternally. For when this word *Remitte*, " Forgive," was spoken with a good faith, and with a penitent heart, there was never man but he was heard. If Judas, that traitor, had said it with a good faith, it should have saved him ; but he forgot that point ; he was taught it indeed, our Saviour himself taught him to pray so, but he forgot it again. Peter, he remembered that point ; he cried, *Remitte*, " Lord, forgive me ; " and so he obtained his pardon, and so shall we do : for we be ever in that case, that we have need to say, *Remitte*, " Lord, forgive us ; " for we ever do amiss.

But here is one addition, one hanger on ; " As we forgive them that trespass against us." What meaneth this ? Indeed it soundeth after the words, as though we might or should merit remission of our sins with our forgiving : As for an example ; That man hath done unto me a foul turn, he hath wronged me ; at the length he acknowledgeth his folly, and cometh to me, and desireth me to forgive him ; I forgive him. Do I now, in forgiving my neighbour his sins which he hath done against me, do I, I say, deserve or merit at God's hand forgiveness of my own sins ? No, no ; God forbid : for if this should be so, then farewell Christ, it taketh him clean away, it diminisheth his honour, and it is very treason wrought against Christ. This hath been in times past taught openly in the pulpits, and in the schools, but it was very treason against Christ ; for in him only, and in nothing else, neither in heaven nor in earth, is our remission ; unto him only pertaineth this honour. For remission of sins, wherein consisteth everlasting life, is such a treasure, that passeth all men's doings : it must not be our merits that shall serve, but his ; He is our comfort, it is the Majesty of Christ, and his blood-shedding that cleanseth us from our sins. Therefore, whosoever is minded contrary unto this, *Factus est reis læsa majestatis*, " he robbeth Christ of his majesty," and so casteth himself into everlasting danger. For though the works which we do be good outwardly, and God be pleased with them, yet

they be not perfect ; for we believe unperfectly, we love unperfectly, we suffer unperfectly, not as we ought to do ; and so all things that we do, are done unperfectly. But our Saviour he hath so remedied the matter, and taken away our unperfectness, so that they be counted now before God most perfect and holy ; not for our own sake, but for his sake ; and though they be not perfect, yet they be taken for perfect : and so we come to perfectness by him. So you see as touching our salvation, we must not go to working, to think to get everlasting life with our own doings. No, this were to deny Christ's salvation, and remission of sins, is his gift, his own and free gift. As touching our good works which we do ; God will reward them in heaven, but they cannot get heaven. Therefore let every man do well, for he shall be well rewarded ; but let them not think that they with their doings may get heaven; for so doing is a robbing of Christ.

What shall we learn now by this addition, where we say, " As we forgive them that trespass against us ?" I tell you, this addition is put unto it not without great cause ; for our Saviour, being a wise and perfect schoolmaster, would speak no words in vain. This addition is put unto it, as to be a certain and sure token unto us, whether we have the true faith in our hearts or no. For faith, the right faith, I say, consisteth not in the knowledge of the stories, to believe the stories written in the New and Old Testament, that is not the lively faith, which bringeth salvation with her. For the devil himself believeth the stories, and yet is, and shall be damned world without end. Therefore we must have the right faith, the lively faith, the faith that bringeth salvation, which consisteth in believing that Christ died for my sins' sake. With such a faith I draw him unto me, with all his benefits : I must not stand in generalities, as to believe that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate, but I must believe that that was done for my sake, to redeem with his passion my sins, and all theirs which believe and trust in him. If I believe so, then I shall not be deceived.

But this faith is a hard thing to be had, and many a man thinketh himself to have that faith, when he hath nothing less. Therefore I will tell you how you shall prove whether you have the right faith or no, lest you be deceived with a phan-

tasy of faith, as many be. Therefore prove thyself on this wise ; here is a man which hath done me wrong, hath taken away my living or my good name, he hath slandered me, or otherwise hurt me ; now at the length he cometh unto me, and acknowledgeth his faults and trespasses ; and desireth me to forgive him : if I now feel myself ready and willing to forgive him, from the bottom of my heart, all things that he hath done against me, then I may be assured that I have the lively faith ; yea, I may be assured that God will forgive me my sins, for Christ his Son's sake. But when my neighbour cometh unto me, confessing his folly, and desiring forgiveness : if I then be sturdy and proud, my heart is flinty, and my stomach bent against him, insomuch that I refuse his request, and have an appetite to be avenged upon him ; if I have such a sturdy stomach, then I may pronounce against myself, that I have not that lively faith in Christ which cleanseth my sins. It is a sure token that I am not of the number of the children of God, as long as I abide in this sturdiness.

There is no good body but he is slandered or injured by one mean or other, and commonly it is seen, that those which live most godly, have in this world the greatest rebukes ; they are slandered and backbitten, and divers ways vexed of the wicked. Therefore thou, whosoever thou art, that sufferest such wrongs, either in thy goods and substance, or in thy good name and fame ; examine thyself, go into thy heart, and if thou canst find in thy heart to forgive all thy enemies whatsoever they have done against thee, then thou mayst be sure that thou art one of the flock of God ; yet thou must beware, as I said before, that thou think not to get heaven by such remitting of thy neighbour's ill-doings ; but by such forgiving, or not forgiving, thou shalt know whether thou have faith or no. Therefore if we have a rebellious stomach, and a flinty heart against our neighbour, so that we are minded to avenge ourselves upon him, and so take upon us God's office, which saith, *Mihi vindictam ego retribuam*, " Yield unto me the vengeance, and I shall recompense them ;" (Heb. x. Deut. xxxii.) as I told you, we be not of the flock of Christ. For it is written ; *Si quis dixerit quoniam diligo Deum et odio habet fratrem suum, mendax est*, " Whosoever saith, I love

God, and hateth his brother, that man or woman is a liar." (I John iv.) for it is impossible for me to love God and hate my neighbour. And our Saviour saith, *Si oravetis remittite*, " When you will pray, forgive first;" else it is to no purpose, you get nothing by your prayer. Likewise we see in the parable of that king which called his servants to make an account, and pay their debts, where he remitteth one of them a great sum of money; now that same fellow, whom the Lord pardoned, went out and took one of his fellow-servants by the neck, and handled him most cruelly, saying, " Give me my money." He had forgotten, belike, that his Lord had forgiven him.

Now the other servants seeing his cruelty, came unto the king, and told him how that man used himself so cruelly to his fellow: the Lord called him again, and after great rebukes cast him into prison, there to lie till he had paid the last farthing. Upon that our Saviour saith, *Sic et Pater meus caelstis faciet vobis, si non remiseritis unusquisque fratri suo de cordibus vestris*, " Thus will my heavenly Father also do unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother even from your hearts." (Matt. xviii.) Therefore let us take heed by that wicked servant which would not forgive his fellow-servant when he desired of him forgiveness, saying, *Patiens habe in me, et omnia reddam tibi*, " Have patience with me, saith he, and I will pay thee all my debts." But we cannot say so unto God; we must only call for pardon.

There be many folk which when they be sick, they say, O that I might live but one year longer, to make amends for my sins; which saying is very naught and ungodly; for we are not able to make amends for our sins; only Christ, he is " the Lamb of God which taketh away our sins." Therefore when we be sick we should say; " Lord God, thy will be done; if I can do any thing to thy honour and glory, Lord, suffer me to live longer, but thy will be done." As for satisfaction, we cannot do the least piece of it.

You have heard now, how we ought to be willing to forgive our neighbours their sins, which is a very token that we be children of God: to this our Saviour also exhorteth us, saying, *Si frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te, relinque, &c.* " If thou offerest therefore thy gift before the altar, and there

rememberest that thy brother hath somewhat against thee, leave thou thy gift there before the altar, and go first and be reconciled unto thy brother," (Matt. v.) Leave it there, saith our Saviour, if thy brother have any thing against thee: go not about to sacrifice to me, but first above all things go and reconcile thyself unto thy brother. On such wise St. Paul also exhorteth us, saying, *Volo viros orare absque ira et disceptatione*, "I would have men to pray without anger and disceptation." There be many wranglers and brawlers now-adays, which do not well; they shall well know that they be not in the favour of God, God is displeased with them: let us therefore give up ourselves to prayer, so that we may love God and our neighbour. It is a very godly prayer to say, "Lord, forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us."

But there be peradventure some of you, which will say, the priest can absolve me and forgive me my sins. Sir, I tell thee, the priest or minister, call him what you will, he hath power given unto him from our Saviour, to absolve in such wise as he is commanded by him; but I think ministers be not greatly troubled therewith; for the people seek their carnal liberties, which indeed is not well, and a thing which misliketh God. For I would have them that are grieved in conscience, to go to some godly man, which is able to minister God's word, and there to fetch his absolution, if he cannot be satisfied in the public sermon; it were truly a thing which would do much good. But to say the truth, there is a great fault in the priests, for they, for the most part, be unlearned and wicked; and seek rather means and ways to wickedness than to godliness: but a godly minister, which is instructed in the word of God, can and may absolve in open preaching; not of his own authority, but in the name of God: for God saith, *Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates*, "I am he that cleanseth thy sins." But I may absolve you as on officer of Christ, in the open pulpit in this wise; as many as confess their sins unto God, acknowledging themselves to be sinners, and believe that our Saviour through his passion hath taken away their sins, and have an earnest purpose to leave sin; as many, I say, as be so affectioned, *Ego absolvo vos*, I, as an officer of

Christ, as his treasurer, absolve you, in his name. This is the absolution that I can make by God's word.

Again, as many as will stand in defence of their wickednesses, will not acknowledge them, nor purpose to leave them, and so have no faith in our Saviour, to be saved by him through his merit ; to them I say, *Ego ligo vos*, "I-bind you ;" and I doubt not but they shall be bound in heaven : for they be the children of the devil, as long as they be in such unbelief, and purpose to sin.

Here you see how, and in what wise a preacher may absolve or bind: but he cannot do it of fellowship or worldly respect: No, in no wise; he must do it according as Christ hath commanded him. If God now command to forgive him, *Qui peccat contra me*, "that sinneth against me," how much more must I be reconciled to him whom I have offended ? I must go unto him, and desire him to forgive me, I must acknowledge my fault, and so humble myself before him. Here a man might ask a question, saying, What if a man have offended me grievously, and hath hurt me in my goods, or slandered me, and is sturdy in it, standeth in defence of himself and his own wickedness, he will not acknowledge himself, shall I forgive him ? Answer, Forsooth, God himself doth not so, he forgiveth not sins, except the sinner acknowledge himself, confess his wickedness, and cry him mercy. Now I am sure, God requireth no more at our hands than he doth himself. Therefore I will say this, if thy neighbour or any man hath done against thee, and will not confess his faults, but wickedly defendeth the same, I, for my own discharge, must put away all rancour and malice out of my heart, and be ready, as far forth as I am able, to help him ; if I do so, I am discharged afore God, but so is not he. For truly that sturdy fellow shall make an heavy account before the righteous Judge.

Here I have occasion to speak against the Novatians*, which deny remission of sins: their opinion is, that he which cometh once to Christ, and hath received the Holy Ghost,

* The followers of Novatus, in the year 215. They condemned second marriages, and held, that those who had once fallen ought not to be received again into the church, although they afterwards repented.

and after that sinneth again, he shall never come to Christ again, his sins shall never be forgiven him; which opinion is most erroneous and wicked, yea, and clean against scripture. For if it should be so, there should nobody be saved ; for there is no man but he sinneth daily. I told you how you should understand those two places of scripture, which seem to be very hard, *Non est sacrificium*, &c. “ There is no sacrifice,” &c. As concerning the sin against the Holy Ghost, we cannot judge beforehand, but after I know now that Judas had sinned against the Holy Ghost, also Nero, Pharaoh, and one Franciscus Spira*, which man had forsaken popery, and done very boldly in God’s quarrel : at the length he was complained of, the Holy Ghost moved him in his heart to stick unto it, and not to forsake God’s word ; he, contrary to that admonition of the Holy Ghost, denied the word of God, and so finally died in desperation : him I may pronounce to have sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost. But I will shew you a remedy for the sin against the Holy Ghost. Ask remission of sin in the name of Christ, and then I ascertain you, that you sin not against the Holy Ghost. For *gratia exuperat supra peccatum*, “ The mercy of God far exceedeth our sins.”

I have heard tell of some, which when they said this petition, they perceived that they asked of God forgiveness, like as they themselves forgive their neighbours ; and again, perceiving themselves so unapt to forgive their neighbours’ faults, came to that point, that they would not say this prayer at all ; but took our ladies’ psalter† in hand, and such fooleries, thinking they might then do unto their neighbour a foul turn with a better conscience, than if they should say this petition : for here they wish themselves the vengeance of God upon their heads, if they bear grudge in their hearts, and say this petition. But if we will be right christians, let us set aside all hatred and malice, let us live godly, and forgive our enemy ;

* About the year 1548, lived at Padua Francis Spira, an advocate, who when he was about forty-four years of age, became a convert to Luther’s doctrines, which he defended strenuously, and thereby made many converts. The priests, upon this brought him before the Pope’s legate at Venice, who persuaded Spira to abjure his errors. After this the unhappy man fell into a deep melancholy, and died in absolute despair.—COLLIER’S *Dict. Moreri*, &c.

† The same as the rosary of the blessed Virgin, an office first brought into use by Dominick.

so that we may from the bottom of our heart say, "Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses." There be some when they say, "Forgive us our trespasses," they think that God will forgive *culpam* only, *sed non pænam*, guiltiness and not the pain; and therefore they believe they shall go into purgatory, and there to be cleansed from their sins: which thing is not so; they be liars which teach such doctrine. For God forgiveth us both the pain and the guiltiness of sins; like as it appeared in David when he repented, Nathan said unto him, *Abstulit Dominus iniquitatem tuam*, "The Lord hath taken away thy wickedness." But they will say, God took away the guiltiness of his sins, but not the pain; for he punished him afterward. Sir, you must understand that God punished him; but not to the end that he should make satisfaction and amends for his sins, but for a warning. God would give him a cave, therefore he punished him. So likewise, whosoever is a repentant sinner, as David was, and believeth in Christ, he is clean, *à pænū et à culpa*, both from the pain and guiltiness of his sins; yet God punishmenteth sins, to make us to remember and beware of sins.

Now to make an end: You have heard how needful it is for us to cry unto God for forgiveness of our sins; where you have heard, wherein forgiveness of our sins standeth, namely, in Christ the Son of the living God. Again, I told you how you should come to Christ, namely, by faith, and faith cometh through hearing the word of God.

Remember then this addition, "As we forgive them that trespass against us;" which is a sure token whereby we know whether we have the true faith in Christ or no. And here you learn, that it is a good thing to have an enemy, for we may use him to our great commodity, through him or by him, we may prove ourselves, whether we have the true faith or no.

Now I shall desire you yet again to pray unto almighty God, that he will send such water, whereby the fruits of the field may increase, for we think we have need of rain. Let us therefore call upon him, which knoweth what is best for us: Therefore say with me the Lord's prayer, as he himself hath taught us; "Our Father, which art," &c.

THE
SEVENTH SERMON
UPON
THE LORD'S PRAYER,
MADE BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD
M. DOCTOR LATIMER.

MATTHEW vi. 13.

Et ne nos inducas in temptationem, sed libera nos à malo.

And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

IN the petition afore, where we say, “ Forgive us our trespasses,” there we fetch remedies for sins past: For we must needs have forgiveness, we cannot remedy the matter of ourselves, our sins must be remedied by pardon, by remission; other righteousness we have not, but forgiving of our unrighteousness, our goodness standeth in forgiving of our illness.

All mankind must cry pardon, and acknowledge themselves to be sinners, except our Saviour, who was clean without spot of sin. Therefore when we feel our sins, we must with a penitent heart resort hither, and say, “ Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.” Mark well this addition, (as we forgive them that trespass) for our Saviour putteth the same unto it, not to that end that we should merit any thing by it, but rather to prove our faith, whether we be of the faithful flock of God, or no. For the right faith abideth not in that man that is disposed purposely to sin, to hate his even Christian, or to do other manner of sins. For whosoever purposely sinneth, *contra conscientiam*, against his conscience, he hath lost the Holy Ghost, the remission of sins, and finally Christ himself. But when we are fallen so, we must fetch them again at God's hand by this prayer, which is a storehouse: here we shall find remission of our sins.

And though we be risen never so well, yet when we fall

again, when we sin again, what remedy then? What availeth it me to be risen once, and fall by and by into the self-same sin again, which is a renovation of the other sins? For whosoever hath done wickedly an act against God, and afterward is sorry for it, crieth God mercy, and so cometh to forgiveness of the same sin; but by and by, willingly and unwittingly, doth the self-same sin again: he renovateth by so doing all those sins which before times were forgiven him. Which thing appeareth by the lord, that took reckoning of his servants, where he found one which owed him a great sum of money; the lord pitied him, and remitted him all the debts. Now that same man afterward shewed himself unthankful and wicked; therefore the lord called him, and cast him into prison, there to lie till he had paid the uttermost farthing, notwithstanding that he had forgiven him afore, &c.

So we see the guiltiness of the former sins turn again, when we do the same sins again. Seeing then that it is so dangerous a thing to fall into sin again, then we had need to have some remedy, some help, that we might avoid sin, and not fall thereto again: Therefore here followeth this petition, "Lead us not into temptation."

Here we have a remedy, here we desire God that he will preserve us from falling into sin. Our Saviour, that loving schoolmaster, knew whereof we had need, therefore he teacheth us to beg a preservation of God, that we fall not; "Lead us not into temptation;" that is to say, Lord God, lead us not into trial, for we shall soon be overcome, but preserve us, suffer us not to sin again, let us not fall, help us that sin get not the victory over us.

And this is a necessary prayer; for what is it that we can do? Nothing at all but sin. And therefore we have need to pray unto God, that he will preserve and keep us in the right way; for our enemy the devil is an unquiet spirit, ever lying in the way, seeking occasion how to bring us to ungodliness. Therefore it appeareth how much we have need of the help of God: for the devil is an old enemy, a fellow of great antiquity, he hath endured this five thousand and fifty-two years; in which space he hath learned all arts and cunning, he is a great practiser, there is no subtlety but he knoweth the same. Like as an artificer that is cunning and expert in his craft, and knoweth

how to go to work, how to do his business the readiest way ; so the devil knoweth all ways how to tempt us, and to give us an overthrow ; insomuch that we can begin nor do nothing, but he is at our heels, and worketh some mischief, whether we be in prosperity or adversity, whether we be in health or sickness, life or death ; he knoweth how to use the same to his purpose.

As for an ensample ; When a man is rich, and of great substance ; he by and by setteth upon him with his crafts, intending to bring him to mischief : and so he moveth him to despise and contemn God, to make his riches his God. Yea, he can put such pride into the rich man's heart, that he thinketh himself able to bring all things to pass ; and so beginneth to oppress his neighbour with his riches. But God by his holy word warneth us, and armeth us against such crafts and subtleties of the devil, saying, *Divitiæ si affluant nolite cor apponere,* “ If riches come upon you, set not your hearts upon them.” (Ps. lxii.) He commandeth us not to cast them away, but not to set our hearts upon them, as wicked men do. For to be rich is a gift of God, if riches be rightly used ; but the devil is so wily, he stirreth up rich men's hearts to abuse them.

Again, when a man falleth into poverty, so that he lacketh things necessary to the sustentation of this bodily life : lo the devil is ever ready at hand to take occasion by that poverty, to bring him to mischief. For he will move and stir up the heart of that man that is in poverty, not to labour and calling upon God, but rather to stealing and robbing ; notwithstanding God forbiddeth such sins in his laws ; or else at the least he will bring him to use deceit and falsehood with his neighbour ; intending that way to bring him to everlasting destruction.

Further, when a man is in honour and dignity, and in great estimation, this serpent sleepeth not, but is ready to give him an overthrow. For though honour be good unto them which come lawfully by it, and though it be a gift of God, yet the devil will move that man's heart which hath honour, to abuse his honour ; for he will make him lofty, and high-minded, and fill his heart full of ambitions, so that he will have a desire ever to come higher and higher : and all those which will withstand him,

they shall be hated, or ill entreated at his hand : and at the length he shall be so poisoned with this ambition, that he shall forget all humanity and godliness, and consequently fall into the fearful hands of God. Such a fellow is the devil, that old doctor.

If it cometh to pass that a man fall into open ignominy and shame, so that he shall be nothing regarded before the world : then the devil is at hand, moving and stirring his heart to irksomeness, and at the length to desperation.

If he be young and lusty, the devil will put in his heart, and say to him : What ? thou art in thy flowers, man ; take thy pleasure ; make merry with thy companions ; remember the old proverb, Young saints, old devils : which proverb in very deed is naught and deceitful, and the devil's own invention ; which would have parents negligent in bringing up their children in goodness : he would rather see them to be brought up in illness and wickedness, therefore he found out such a proverb, to make them careless for their children. But, as I said afore, this proverb is naught, for look commonly where children are brought up in wickedness, they will be wicked all their lives after ; and therefore we may say thus, Young devil, old devil; young saints, old saints ; *Quo semel imbuta est recens servabit odorem testa diu*, “ The earthen pot will long savour of that liquor that is first put into it.” And here appeareth how the devil can use the youth of a young man to his destruction, in exhorting him to follow the fond lusts of that age.

Likewise when a man cometh to age, that old serpent will not leave him, but he is ever stirring him from one mischief unto the other, from one wickedness to another ; and commonly he moveth old folks to avarice and covetousness : for then old folk will commonly say, by the inspiration of the devil, Now it is time for me to lay up, to keep in store somewhat for me, that I may have wherewith to live when I shall be a cripple ; and so under this colour they set all their hearts and minds only upon this world, forgetting their poor neighbour, which God would have relieved by them. But, as I told you before, this is the devil's invention and subtlety, which blindeth their eyes so, and withdraweth their hearts so far from God, that it is scant possible for some to be brought again : for they have set all their hearts and phantasies in such wise upon their

goods, that they cannot suffer any body to occupy their goods, nor they themselves use it not; to the verifying of this common sentence: *Avarus caret quod habet, æque ac quod non habet*, "The covetous man lacketh as well those things which he hath, as those things which he hath not." So likewise when we be in health, the devil moveth us to all wickedness and naughtiness, to whoredom, lechery, theft, and other horrible faults, putting clean out of our mind the remembrance of God and his judgments; insomuch that we forget that we shall die.

Again, when we be in sickness, he goeth about like a lion, to move and stir us up to impatience and murmuring against God; or else he maketh our sins so horrible before us that we fall into desperation. And so it appeareth that there is nothing either so high or low, so great or small, but the devil can use that self-same thing, as a weapon to fight against us withal, like as with a sword. Therefore our Saviour, knowing the crafts and subtleties of our enemy the devil, how he goeth about day and night, without intermission, to seek our destruction, teacheth us here to cry unto God our heavenly Father for aid and help, for a subsidy against this strong and mighty enemy, against the prince of this world; as St. Paul disdained not to call him; for he knew his power and subtil conveyances. Belike St. Paul had some experience of him.

Here by this petition when we say, "Lead us not into temptation;" we learn to know our own impossibility and infirmity; namely, that we be not able of our own selves to withstand this great and mighty enemy the devil. Therefore here we resort to God, desiring him to help and defend us, whose power passeth the strength of the devil. So it appeareth that this is a most needful petition, for when the devil is busy about us, and moveth us to do against God, and his holy laws and commandments, ever we should have in remembrance whither to go, namely, to God, acknowledging our weakness, that we be not able to withstand the enemy. Therefore we ought always to say, "Our Father, which art in heaven; lead us not into temptation."

This petition, "lead us not into temptation," the meaning of it is, Almighty God, we desire thy holy majesty for to stand by and with us, with thy Holy Spirit, so that temptation

overcome us not, but that we, through thy goodness and help, may vanquish and get the victory over it; for it is not in our power to do it: thou, O God, must help us to strive and fight.

It is with this petition, "Lead us not into temptation," even as much as St. Paul saith, *Ne regnet igitur peccatum in vestro mortali corpore*, "Let not sin reign in your corruptible body," saith St. Paul: He doth not require that we shall have no sin, for that is impossible unto us; but he requireth that we be not servants unto sin, that we give not place unto it, that sin rule not in us. And this is a commandment, we are commanded to forsake and hate sin, so that it may have no power over us. Now we shall turn this commandment into a prayer, and desire of God that he will keep us, that he will not lead us into temptation; that is to say, that he will not suffer sin to have the rule and governance over us, and so we shall say with the prophet, *Domine dirige gressus meos*, "Lord, rule and govern thou me in the right way." And so we shall turn God's commandment into a prayer, to desire of him help to do his will and pleasure; like as St. Augustine saith, *Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis*, "Give that thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt." As who say, if thou wilt command only and not give, then we shall be lost, we shall perish.

Therefore we must desire him to rule and govern all our thoughts, words, acts, and deeds, so that no sins bear rule in us; we must require him to put his helping hand to us, that we may overcome temptation, and not temptation us. This I would have you to consider, that every morning when you rise from your bed, you would say these words with a faithful heart and earnest mind: *Domine, gressus meos, dirige ne diminetur peccatum in meo mortali corpore*. "Lord, rule and govern me so, order my ways so, that sin get not the victory of me, that sin rule me not, but let thy Holy Ghost inhabit my heart." And specially when any man goeth about a dangerous business, let him ever say, *Domine, dirige gressus meos*, "Lord, rule thou me; keep me in thy custody." So this is the first point, which you shall note in this petition, namely, to turn the commandments of God into a prayer. He commandeth us to leave sins, to avoid them, to hate them, to keep our heart clean from them; then let us turn his com-

mendment into a prayer, and say, "Lord, lead us not into temptation," that is to say, Lord, keep us, that the devil prevail not against us, that wickedness get not the victory over us.

You shall not think that it is an ill thing to be tempted, to fall into temptations. No, for it is a good thing, and scripture commendeth it, and we shall be rewarded for it. For St. James saith, *Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem*, "Blessed is that man that suffereth temptations patiently." Blessed is he that suffereth; not he that followeth, not he that is led by them, and followeth the motions thereof. The devil moveth me to do this thing and that, which is against God, to commit whoredom or lechery, or such like things. Now this is a good thing; for if I withstand his motions, and more regard God than his suggestions, happy am I, and I shall be rewarded for it in heaven.

Some think that St. Paul would have been without such temptations, but God would not grant his request. *Sufficit tibi gratia mea, Paule*, "Be content, Paul, to have my favour." For temptations be a declaration of God's favour and might: for though we be most weak and feeble, yet through our weakness God vanquisheth the great strength and might of the devil. And afterward he promiseth us we shall have *coronam vitæ*, "the crown of life;" that is to say, we shall be rewarded in everlasting life. To whom did God promise *coronam vitæ*, the crown of life, everlasting life? Marry, *diligentibus se*, saith St. James, "Unto them that love him;" not unto them that love themselves, and follow their own affections; it is an amphibologia, and therefore Erasmus turneth it into Latin with such words *A quibus dilectus est Deus, non diligentibus se*, "them that love him," into these words, "Not they that love themselves, but they of whom God is beloved: for self-love is the root of all mischief and wickedness."

Here you may perceive who are those which love God, namely, they that fight against temptations, and assaults of the devil. For this life is a warfare, as St. John saith, *Militia est vita hominis super terram*, "The life of man is but a warfare:" not that we should fight and brawl one with another. No, not so, but we should fight against the Jebusites that are within us. We may not fight one with another, to

avenge ourselves, and to satisfy our irefulness, but we should fight against the ill motions which rise up in our hearts against the law of God. Therefore remember that our life is a warfare, let us be contented to be tempted. There be some when they fall into temptations, they be so irksome that they give place, they will fight no more. Again, there be some so weary that they rid themselves out of this life, but this is not well done: they do not after St. James's mind, for he saith, "Blessed is he that suffereth temptation, and taketh it patiently." Now, if he be blessed that suffereth temptation, then it followeth, that he that curseth and murmureth against God, being tempted, that that man is cursed in the sight of God, and so shall not enjoy *coronam vitæ*, everlasting life.

Further, it is a necessary thing to be tempted of God; for how should we know whether we have the love of God in our hearts or no, except we be tried, except God tempt and prove us? Therefore the prophet David saith, *Proba me, Domine, et tenta me*, "Lord, prove me, and tempt me:" (Ps. xxv.) This prophet knew that to be tempted of God is a good thing: for temptations minister to us occasion to run to God, and to beg his help. Therefore David was desirous to have something whereby he might exercise his faith. For there is nothing so dangerous in the world, as to be without trouble, without temptation; for look when we be best at ease, when all things go with us according unto our will and pleasure, then we are commonly most farthest off from God. For our nature is so feeble, that we cannot bear tranquillity, we forget God by and by; therefore we should say, *Proba me*, "Lord, prove me, and tempt me."

I have read once a story of a good bishop, which rode by the way, and was weary, being yet far off from any town: therefore seeing a fair house, a great man's house, he went thither, and was very well and honourably received: there was great preparations made for him and a great banquet, all things were in plenty. Then the man of the house set out his prosperity, and told the bishop what riches he had, in what honour and dignities he was, how many fair children he had, what a virtuous wife God had provided for him; so that he had no lack of any manner of thing; he had no trouble or vexations, neither inward nor outward. Now this holy man

hearing the good estate of that man, called one of his servants, and commanded him to make ready the horses ; for the bishop thought that God was not in that house, because there was no temptation there : he took his leave, and went his ways. Now when he came two or three miles off, he remembered his book which he had left behind him : he sent his man back again to fetch that book ; and when the servant came again, the house was sunken and all that was in it.

Hear it appeareth, that it is a good thing to have temptation. This man thought himself a jolly fellow, because all things went with him : but he knew not St. James's lesson, *Beatus qui suffert tentationem*, “Blessed is he that endureth temptation.” Let us therefore learn here, not to be irksome when God layeth his cross upon us. Let us not despair, but call upon him ; let us think we be ordained unto it. For truly we shall never have done ; we shall have one vexation or other, as long as we be in this world. But we have a great comfort ; which is this, *Fidelis est Deus, qui non sinit nos tentari supra quām ferre possumus*, “God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength.” If we mistrust God, then we make him a liar : for God will not suffer us to be tempted further than we shall be able to bear ; and again he will reward us ; we shall have *coronam vitæ*, everlasting life. If we consider this, and ponder it in our hearts, wherefore should we be troubled ? Let every man when he is in trouble call upon God with a faithful and penitent heart : Lord, let me not be tempted further than thou shalt make me able to bear. And this is the office of every christian man ; and look for no better cheer as long as thou art in this world, but trouble and vexations thou shalt have *usque ad satietatem*, thy belly full. And therefore our Saviour, being upon the mount Olivet, knowing what should come upon him, and how his disciples would forsake him, and mistrust him, taught them to fight against temptation ; saying, *Vigilate et orate*. As who should say, I tell you what you shall do, resort to God, seek comfort of him, call upon him in my name ; and this shall be the way how to escape temptations without your peril and loss. Now let us follow that rule which our Saviour giveth unto his disciples. Let us watch and pray, that is to say, let us be earnest and fer-

vent in calling upon him, and in desiring his help ; and no doubt he will order the matter so with us, that temptation shall not hurt us, but shall be rather a furtherance, and not an impediment to everlasting life. And this is our only remedy, to fetch help at his hands. Let us therefore watch, and pray, let not temptations bear rule in us, or govern us.

Now peradventure there be some amongst the ignorant unlearned sort, which will say unto me, You speak much of temptations, I pray you tell us, how shall we know when we be tempted ? Answer, When you feel in yourselves, in your hearts, some concupiscence, or lust towards any thing that is against the law of God rise up in your hearts ; that same is a tempting. For all manner of ill motions to wickedness are temptations. And we be tempted most commonly two manner of ways, *A dextris et à sinis ris*, “ On the right hand, and on the left hand.” Whensoever we be in honours, wealth, and prosperities, then we be tempted on the right hand : but when we be in open shame, out-laws, or in great extreme poverty and penuries, then that is on the left hand. There hath been many that when they have been tempted *à sinistris*, “ on the left hand,” that is, with adversities and all kind of miseries, they have been hardy, and most godly, have suffered such calamities, giving God thanks amidst all their troubles ; and there hath been many which have written most godly books in the time of their temptations and miseries. Some also there were, which stood heartily, and godlily suffered temptations, as long as they were in trouble : but afterward, when they came to rest, they could not stand so well as before in their trouble ; yea the most part go and take out a new lesson of discretion, to flatter themselves and the world withal ; and so they verify that saying, *Honores mutant mores*, Honours change manners. For they can find in their hearts to approve that thing now, which before time they reproved. Aforetime they sought the honour of God, now they seek their own pleasure. Like as the rich man did, saying, *Anima, nunc ede, bibe, &c.*, “ Soul, now eat, drink,” &c. But it followeth, *Stulte*, “ Thou fool.” Therefore, let men beware of the right hand ; for they are gone by and by, except God with his Spirit illuminate their hearts. I would such men would begin to say with David, *Proba me, Domine*, “ Lord,

prove me :" spur me forward, send me somewhat, that I forget not thee. So it appeareth that a Christian man's life is a strife, a warfare ; but we shall overcome all our enemies, yet not by our own power, but through God, which is able to defend us.

Truth it is that God tempteth. Almighty God tempteth to our commodities, to do us good withal ; the devil tempteth to our everlasting destruction. God tempteth us for exercise sake, that we should not be slothful ; therefore he proveth us diversely. We had need often to say this prayer, " Lord, lead us not into temptation ;" when we rise up in a morning, or whatsoever we do, when we feel the devil busy about us, we should call upon God.

The diligence of the devil should make us watchful, when we consider with what earnest mind he applieth to his business ; for he sleepeth not, he slumbereth not, he mindeth his own business, he is careful, and hath mind of his matters. To what end is he so diligent, seeking and searching like a hunter ? Marry, to take us at avantage. St. Peter calleth him a roaring lion, whereby is expressed his power : for you know, the lion is the prince of all other beasts. *Circuit,* " He goeth about." Here is his diligence : *Non est potestas,* &c. " There is no power to be likened unto his power :" yet our hope is in God ; for, as strong as he is, our hope is in God, he cannot hurt or slay us without the permission of God ; therefore let us resort unto God, and desire him, that he will enable us to fight against him.

Further, his wiliness is expressed by this word " serpent ;" he is of a swift nature, he hath such compasses, such fetches, that he passeth all things in the world. Again, consider how long he hath been a practitioner ; you must consider what Satan is, what experience he hath, so that we are not able to match with him. O how fervently ought we to cry unto God, considering what danger and peril we be in ; and not only for ourselves we ought to pray, but also for all others ; for we ought to love our neighbour as ourselves.

Seeing then that we have such an enemy, resist, for so it is needful : For I think that now in this hall, amongst this audience, there be many thousand devils, which go about to let us of the hearing of the word of God, to make hardness in

our hearts, and to stir up such like mischief within us. But what remedy? *Resistite*, withstand, withstand his motions; and this must be done at the first. For, as strong as he is, when he is resisted at the first, he is the weakest; but if we suffer him to come into our hearts, then he cannot be driven out without great labour and travail. As for an ensample, I see a fair woman, I like her very well, I wish in my heart to have her: Now withstand, this is a temptation. Shall I follow my affections? No, no; call to remembrance what the devil is; call God to remembrance and his laws; consider what he hath commanded thee: say unto God, "Lord, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil:" For I tell thee, when he is entered once, it will be hard to get him out again: therefore suffer him not too long, give him no mansion in thy heart, but strike him with the word of God, and he is gone; he will not abide. Another ensample:

There is a man that hath done me wrong, taken away my living, or hurt me of my good name: the devil stirreth me against him, to requite him, to do him another foul turn, to avenge myself upon him. Now when there rise up such motions in my heart, I must resist, I must strive, I must consider what God saith; *Mihi vindictam*, "Let me have the vengeance:" *Ego retribuam*, "I will punish him for his ill doings."

In such wise we must fight with Satan; we must kill him with the word of God, *Resistite*, "Withstand and resist:" Away thou, Satan, thou movest me to that which God forbiddeth; God will defend me: I will not speak ill of my neighbour; I will do him no harm. So you must fight with him, and further remember what St. Paul saith, "If thy enemy be hungry, let him have meat:" this is the shrewd turn that scripture alloweth us to do to our enemies; and so we shall "cast hot coals upon his head;" which is a metaphorical speech: That ye may understand it, take an ensample; This man hath done harm unto thee, make him warm with thy benefits, bear patiently the injuries done unto thee by him; and do for him in his necessities, then thou shalt heat him; for he is in coldness of charity; at the length he shall remember himself and say, What a man am I? this man hath ever been friendly, and good unto me, he hath borne

patiently all my wickedness, truly I am much bound unto him: I will leave off from my wrong doings, I will no more trouble him.

And so you see that this is the way to make our enemy good, to bring him to reformation. But there be some, that when they be hurt they will do a foul turn again: but this is not as God would have it. St. Paul commandeth us to "pour hot coals upon our enemy's head;" that is to say, if he hurt thee, do him good, make him amends with well-doing; give him meat and drink, whereby is understood all things: when he hath need of counsel, help him; or whatsoever it is that he hath need of, let him have it. And this is the right way to reform our enemy, to amend him, and bring him to goodness; for so St. Paul commandeth us, saying, *Noli vinci à malo*, " Be not overcome of the wicked." For when I am about to do my enemy a foul turn, then he hath gotten the victory over me, he hath made me as wicked as himself is. But we ought to overcome the ill with goodness, we should overcome our enemy with well-doing.

When I was in Cambridge, Master George Stafford read a lecture, there I heard him; and in expounding the Epistle to the Romans, coming to that place where St. Paul saith, that "we shall overcome our enemy with well-doing, and so heap up hot coals upon his head;" now in expounding of that place, he brought in an ensample, saying, that he knew in London a great rich merchant, which merchant had a very poor neighbour, yet for all his poverty, he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him to come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Doctor Colet* was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a scripture man, he began to smell the Gospel; the poor man was a papist still. It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the Gospel, sitting at his table, where he reproved popery and such kind of things; the poor man being then present, took a great displeasure against the rich man;

* Dr. John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the school adjoining the cathedral. He was persecuted by Dr. Fitzjames, bishop of London, but escaped by the favour of archbishop Warham, and died in peace, in 1519.

insomuch that he would come no more to his house, he would borrow no more money of him, as he was wont to do before-times ; yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet ; but it would not be, the poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him : if he met the rich man in the street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him in so narrow a street that he could not avoid, but come near him ; yet for all that, this poor man had such a stomach against the rich man, I say, that he was minded to go forward, and not to speak with him. The rich man perceiving that, catcheth him by the hand, and asked him, saying, Neighbour, what is come into your heart, to ake such displeasure with me ? what have I done against you ? tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends.

Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought in the poor man's heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore. Many one would have said, set him in the stocks, let him have bread of affliction, and water of tribulation : but this man did not so. And here you see an ensample of the practice of God's words, in such sort that the poor man, bearing great hatred and malice against the rich man, was brought, through the lenity and meekness of the rich man, from his error and wickedness, to the knowledge of God's word. I would you would consider this ensample well, and follow it.

“ Lead us not into temptation.” Certain it is that customizable sinners have but small temptations : for the devil letteth them alone, because they be his already, he hath them in bondage, they be his slaves. But when there is any good man abroad that intendeth to leave sin and wickedness, and abhorreth the same, that man shall be tempted ; the devil goeth about to use all means to destroy that man, and to let him of his forwardness. Therefore all those which have such temptations, resort hither for aid and help, and withstand betimes ; for I tell

thee, if thou withstandest and fightest against him betimes ; certainly thou shalt find him most weak ; but if thou sufferest him to enter into thy heart, and hast a delight in his motions, *tunc actum est*, then thou art undone, then he hath gotten the victory over thee. And here it is to be noted, that the devil hath no further power than God will allow him ; the devil can go no further than God permitteth him to do ; which thing shall strengthen our faith, insomuch that we shall be sure to overcome him.

St. Paul, that excellent instrument of God, saith, *Qui volunt ditescere, incident in multas tentationes*, “ They that go about to get riches, they shall fall in many temptations : ” in which words St. Paul doth teach us to beware. For when we go about to set our minds upon this world, upon riches, then the devil will have a fling at us. Therefore, let us not set our hearts upon the riches of this world, but rather let us labour for our living ; and then let us use prayer, then we may be certain of our living. Though we have not riches, yet a man may live without great riches : *Habentes victum et vestitum, &c.*, “ When we have meat, and drink, and clothing, let us be content, let us not gape for riches ; ” (1 Tim. vi.) for I tell you it is a dangerous thing to have riches : and they that have riches, must make a great account for them : yea, and the most part of the rich men, use their riches so naughtily, and so wickedly, that they shall not be able to make an account for them. And so you may perceive, how the devil useth the good creatures of God, to our own destruction : for riches are good creatures of God, but you see daily how men abuse them, how they set their hearts upon them, forgetting God and their own salvation. Therefore, as I said before, let not this affection take place in your hearts, to be rich : labour for thy living, and pray to God, then he will send thee things necessary ; though he send not great riches, yet thou must be content withal, for it is better to have a sufficient living, than to have great riches. Therefore Solomon, that wise king, desired of God that he would send him neither too much, nor too little ; not too much, lest he should fall into proudness, and so despise God ; not too little, lest he should fall to stealing, and so transgress the law of God. (Prov. xxv.)

Sed libera nos à malo, “ But deliver us from evil.”

This evil, the writers take it for the devil; for the devil is the instrument of all ill; like as God is the fountain of all goodness, so the devil is the original root of all wickedness. Therefore when we say, "deliver us from evil," we mean, deliver us from the devil and all his crafts, subtleties, and inventions, wherewith he intendeth to hurt us. And we of our own selves know not what might let or stop us from everlasting life, therefore we desire him, that he will deliver us from all ill: that is to say, that he will send us nothing that might be a let or impediment unto us, or keep us from everlasting felicity.

As for ensample; There be many which when they be sick, they desire of God to have their health, for they think if they might have their health they would do much good, they would live godly and uprightly. Now God sendeth them their health, but they by and by forget all their promises made unto God before, and fall unto all wickedness, and horrible sins. So that it had been a thousand times better for them, to have been sick still, than to have their health. For when they were in sickness and affliction, they called upon God, they feared him; but now they care not for him, they despise and mock him. Now therefore lest any such thing should happen unto us, we desire him "to deliver us from evil;" that is to say, to send us such things which may be a furtherance unto us, to eternal felicity, and take away those things which might lead us from the same.

There be some, which think it is a gay thing to avoid poverty, to be in wealth, and to live pleasantly: yet sometimes we see, that such an easy life, giveth us occasion to commit all wickedness, and so is an instrument of our damnation. Now therefore when we say this prayer, we require God, that he will be our loving Father, and give us such things which may be a furtherance to our salvation, and take away those things which let us from the same.

Now you have heard the Lord's prayer, which is, as I told you, the abridgment of all other prayers, and it is the storehouse of God. For here we shall find all things necessary both for our souls and bodies. Therefore I desire you most heartily to resort hither to this storehouse of God; seek here

what you lack ; and no doubt you shall find things necessary for your wealth. In the gospel of Matthew there be added these words, *Quia tuum est regnum, et potentia, et gloria, in seculo seculorum,* “ For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, world without end. Amen.” These words are added not without cause ; for like as we say in the beginning, “ Our Father,” signifying that he will fulfil our request, so at the end we conclude, saying, “ Thine is the power,” &c. signifying, that he is able to help us in our distress, and to grant our requests. And though these be great things, yet we need not to despair, but consider that he is Lord over heaven and earth, that he is able to do for us, and that he will do so, being our Father and our Lord, and king over all things.

Therefore let us often resort hither, and call upon him with this prayer, in our Christ's name ; for he loveth Christ, and all those which are in Christ ; for so he saith, *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacitum est,* “ This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I have pleasure.” Seeing then that God hath pleasure in him, he hath pleasure in the prayer that he hath made ; and so when we say this prayer in his name, with a faithful penitent heart, it is not possible but he will hear us, and grant our requests. And truly, it is the greatest comfort in the world to talk with God, and to call upon him, in this prayer, that Christ himself hath taught us ; for it taketh away the bitterness of all afflictions. Through prayer we receive the Holy Ghost, which strengtheneth and comforteth us at all times, in all trouble and peril.

Quia tuum est regnum, et potentia et gloria, “ For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory.” The kingdom of God is general throughout all the world ; heaven and earth are under his dominion. As for the other kings, they are kings indeed, but to godward they be but deputies, but officers ; he only is the right king ; unto him only must and shall all creatures in heaven and earth obey, and kneel before his majesty. Therefore have this ever in your hearts, what trouble and calamities soever shall fall upon you for God's word's sake : if you be put in prison, or lose your goods, ever say in your hearts, *Tuum est regnum,* “ Lord God, thou only art ruler and governor,” thou only canst and will help and deliver

us from all trouble. when it pleaseth thee ; for thou art the king to whom all things obey. For, as I said before, all the other kings reign by him, and through him, as scripture witnesseth : *Per me reges regnant*, “ Through me kings rule.” (Prov. viii.) To say this prayer with good faith and penitent heart, is a *sacrificium laudis*, “ A sacrifice of thanksgiving.” We were wont to have *Sacrificium missæ*, “ The sacrifice of the mass,” which was the most horrible blasphemy that could be devised, for it was against the dignity of Christ, and his passion ; but this sacrifice of thanksgiving, every one may make, that calleth with a faithful heart upon God in the name of Christ.

Therefore let us at all times, without intermission, offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving ; that is to say, let us at all times call upon him, and glorify his name in all our livings ; when we go to bed-ward let us call upon him ; when we rise, let us do likewise. *Item*, also when we go to our meat and drink, let us not go unto it like swine and beasts, but let us remember God, and be thankful unto him for all his gifts. But above all things we must see that we have a penitent heart, else it is to no purpose ; for it is written, *Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris*, “ God will not be praised of a wicked man.” (Eccles. xv.) Therefore let us repent from the bottom of our hearts, let us forsake all wickedness, so that we may say this prayer to the honour of God, and our own commodities. And, as I told you before, we may say this prayer whole or by parts, according as we shall see occasion. For when we see God’s name blasphemed, we may say, “ Our Father, hallowed be thy name :” when we see the devil rule, we may say, “ Our Father, thy kingdom come :” when we see the world inclined to wickedness, we may say, “ Our Father, thy will be done.” And when we lack necessary things, either for our bodies or souls, we may say, “ Our Father, which art in heaven, give us this day our daily bread.” Also when I feel my sins and they trouble and grieve me, then I may say, “ Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our trespasses.”

Finally, when we will be preserved from all temptations, that they shall not have the victory over us, nor that the devil shall not devour us, we may say, “ Our Father, which art in

heaven, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil ;
for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever
and ever, world without end." *Amen.*

Excerptæ per me, Augustinum Bernerum, Helvetium.

Here endeth the Sermons upon the Lord's Prayer, made
by the right reverend Father in God, Master Doctor Latimer,
before the right virtuous and honourable lady Katharine
Duchess of Suffolk, at Grymsthorpe, the year of our Lord
1552.

CERTAIN
OTHER SERMONS,

PREACHED BY

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
MASTER HUGH LATIMER,

IN LINCOLNSHIRE, THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1553.

COLLECTED AND GATHERED

BY AUGUSTINE BERNHEN, AN HELVETIAN:

And albeit not so fully and perfectly gathered as they were uttered, yet
nevertheless truly, to the singular commodity and profit of the
simple ignorant, who with fervent zeal and diligent
reading desire to be better taught
and instructed.

A SERMON

ON THE

PARABLE OF A KING THAT MARRIED HIS SON,

MADE BY MASTER LATIMER.

MATTHEW xxii. 2, 3.

Simile factum est regnum celorum homini regi fecit nuptias filio suo.

The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king, which married his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding ; and they would not come.

THIS is a gospel that containeth very much matter ; and there is another like unto this in the fourteenth of Luke, but they be both one in effect, for they teach both one thing. And therefore I will take them both in hand together, because they tend to one purpose. Matthew saith, " The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king, which married his son." Luke saith, " A certain man ordained a great supper ;" but there is no difference in the very substance of the matter, for they pertain to one purpose. Here is made mention of a feast-maker ; therefore we must consider who was this feast-maker : secondarily, who was his son ; thirdly, we must consider to whom he was married ; fourthly, who were they that called the guests : fifthly, who were the guests. And then we must know how the guest-callers behaved themselves ; and then how the guests behaved themselves towards them that called them. When all these circumstances be considered, we shall find much good matters covered and hid in this gospel.

Now that I may so handle these matters, that it may turn to the edification of your souls, and to the discharge of my office, I will most instantly desire you, to lift up your hearts unto God ; and desire his divine Majesty, in the name of his only begotten Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, that he will give unto us his Holy Ghost ; unto me, that I may speak the word of

God, and teach you to understand the same: unto you, that you may hear it fruitfully, to the edification of your souls, so that you may be edified through it, and your lives reformed and amended, so that his honour and glory may increase daily amongst us. And therefore I shall desire you to say with me, "Our Father, &c."

Dearly beloved in the Lord, the gospel that is read this day is a parable, a similitude, or comparison. For our Saviour compared the kingdom of God unto a man that made a marriage for his son. And here was a marriage. At a marriage you know there is commonly great feastings. Now you must know who was this feast-master, and who was his son, and to whom he was married; and who were those that should be called, and who were the callers; how they behaved themselves, and how the guests behaved themselves towards them that called them.

Now this marriage-maker, or feast-maker, is almighty God. Luke the Evangelist calleth him a man, saying, "A certain man ordained a great supper." He called him a man, not that he was incarnate, or hath taken our flesh upon him; no fnot so, for you must understand that there be three persons in the Deity, "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost." And these three persons decked the Son with manhood: so that neither the Father, neither the Holy Ghost took flesh upon them, but only the Son, he took our flesh upon him, taking it of the Virgin Mary. But Luke called God the Father a man, not because he took flesh upon him, but only compared him unto a man; not that he will affirm him to be man.

Who was he now that was married? who was the bridegroom? marry, that was our Saviour Jesus Christ, the second person in the Deity, the eternal Son of God. Who should be his spouse? to whom was he married? Marry, to his church and congregation: for he would have all the world to come unto him, and to be married unto him; but we see by daily experience, that the most part refuse this offer.

But here is shewed the state of the Church of God: for this marriage, this feast, was begun at the beginning of the world, and shall endure to the end of the same: yet for all that, the most part refused it: for at the very beginning of the world,

ever the most part refused to come. And so it appeareth at this our time, how little a number cometh to this wedding and feast : though we have many callers, yet there be but few of those that come. So ye hear that God is the feast-maker ; the bridegroom is Christ, his Son, our Saviour ; the bride, is the congregation.

Now what manner of meat was prepared at this great feast ? For ye know it is commonly seen, that at a marriage, the finest meat is prepared that can be gotten. What was the chiefest dish at this great banquet ? What was the feast dish ? Marry, it was the bridegroom himself : for the Father, the feast-maker, prepared none other manner of meat for the guests, but the body and blood of his own natural Son, and this is the chiefest dish at this banquet, which truly is a marvellous thing, that the Father offereth his Son to be eaten. Verily, I think that no man hath heard the like. And truly there was never such kind of feasting as this is, where the Father will have his Son to be eaten, and his blood to be drank.

We read in a story, that a certain man had eaten his son, but it was done unawares ; he knew not that it was his son, else no doubt he would not have eaten him. The story is this : There was a king named Astyages, which had heard by a prophecy, that one Cyrus should have the rule and dominion over his realm after his departure ; which thing troubled the said king very sore, and therefore sought all the ways and means how to get the said Cyrus out of the way, how to kill him, so that he should not be king after him. Now he had a nobleman in his house, named Harpagus, whom he appointed to destroy the said Cyrus ; but howsoever the matter went, Cyrus was preserved and kept alive, contrary to the king's mind. Which thing when Astyages heard, what doth he ? Marry, this : Harpagus, that nobleman, which was put in trust to kill Cyrus, had a son in the court, whom the king commanded to be taken, his head, hands, and feet to be cut off, and his body to be prepared, roasted, or sodden, of the best manner as could be devised. After that, he biddeth Harpagus to come and eat with him, where there was jolly cheer, one dish coming after another. At length, the king said to Harpagus, Sir, how like you your fare ? Harpagus thanketh the king, with much praising the king's banquet.

Now the king perceiving him to be merrily disposed, commanded one of his servants to bring in the head, hands, and feet of Harpagus's son. When it was done, the king shewed him what manner of meat he had eaten, asking him how it liketh him. Harpagus made answer, (though with an heavy heart) *Quod regi placet, id mihi quoque placet;* "Whosoever pleaseth the king, that also pleaseth me." And here we have an ensample of a flatterer, or dissembler: For this Harpagus spake against his own heart and conscience. Surely, I fear me, there be a great many of flatterers in our time also, which will not be ashamed to speak against their own heart and consciences, like as this Harpagus did, which had, no doubt, a heavy heart, and in his conscience the act of the king misliked him, yet for all that, with his tongue he praised the same.

So I say, we read not in any story, that at any time any father had eaten his son willingly and wittingly; and this Harpagus, of whom I rehearsed the story, did it unawares. But the Almighty God, which prepared this feast for all the world, for all those that will come unto it, he offereth his only Son to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken; belike he loved his guests well, because he feedeth them with so costly a dish.

Again, our Saviour, the bridegroom, offereth himself at his last supper which he had with his disciples, his body to be eaten, and his blood to be drunk. And to the intent that it should be done to our great comfort; and then again to take away all cruelty, irksomeness, and horribleness, he sheweth unto us how we shall eat him, in what manner and form; namely, spiritually, to our great comfort: so that whosoever eateth the mystical bread, and drinketh the mystical wine worthily, according to the ordinance of Christ, he receiveth surely the very body and blood of Christ spiritually, as it shall be most comfortable unto his soul. He eateth with the mouth of his soul, and digesteth with the stomach of his soul, the body of Christ. And to be short, whosoever believeth in Christ putteth his hope, trust, and confidence in him (he eateth and drinketh him), for the spiritual eating, is the right eating to everlasting life; not the corporal eating, as the Capernaites understood it. For that same corporal eating, on which they set their minds, hath no commodities at all; it is a spiritual meat that feedeth our souls. But I pray you, how much is this supper of Christ regarded

amongst us, where he himself exhibiteth unto us his body and blood? How much, I say, is it regarded? how many receive it with the curate or minister? O Lord, how blind and dull are we to such things, which pertain to our salvation? But I pray you wherefore was it ordained principally? Answer, it was ordained for our help, to help our memory withal, to put us in mind of the great goodness of God, in redeeming us from everlasting death, by the blood of our Saviour Christ: yea, and to signify unto us, that his body and blood, is our meat and drink for our souls, to feed them to everlasting life. If we were now so perfect as we ought to be, we should not have need of it; but to help our imperfectness it was ordained of Christ: for we be so forgetful when we be not pricked forward, we have soon forgotten all his benefits.

Therefore to the intent that we might better keep it in memory, and to remedy this our slothfulness, our Saviour hath ordained this his supper for us, whereby we should remember his great goodness, his bitter passion and death, and so strengthen our faith: so that he instituted this supper for our sake, to make us to keep in fresh memory his inestimable benefits. But as I said before, it is in a manner nothing regarded amongst us, we care not for it, we will not come unto it. How many be there, think ye which regard this supper of the Lord, as much as a testoon? But very few no doubt of it: and I will prove that they regard it not so much. If there were a proclamation made in this town, that whosoever would come unto the church at such an hour, and there go to the communion with the curate, should have a testoon; when such a proclamation were made, I think, truly, all the town would come and celebrate the communion to get a testoon; but they will not come to receive the body and blood of Christ, the food and nourishment of their souls, to the augmentation and strength of their faith! Do they not more regard now a testoon than Christ? But the cause which letteth us from the celebrating of the Lord's Supper, is this; we have no mind nor purpose to leave sin and wickedness, which maketh us not to come to this supper, because we be not ready nor meet to receive it. But I require you in God's behalf, leave your wickedness, that ye may receive it worthily according to his institution. For this supper is ordained, as I told you before, for our sake, to our profits

and commodities : for if we were perfect, we should not need this outward sacrament ; but our Saviour, knowing our weakness and forgetfulness, ordained this supper, to the augmentation of our faith, and to put us in remembrance of his benefits. But we will not come : there come no more at once, but such as give the holy loaves from house to house, which follow rather the custom than any thing else. Our Saviour Christ saith in the gospel of St. John, *Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cælo descendit*, “ I am the living bread which came down from heaven.” (John vi.) Therefore whosoever feedeth of our Saviour Christ, he shall not perish, death shall not prevail against him, his soul shall depart out of his body, yet death shall not get the victory over him : he shall not be damned. He that cometh to that marriage, to that banquet, death shall be unto him but an entrance, or a door to everlasting life, *Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est*, “ The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.” As many as will feed upon him, shall attain to everlasting life, they shall never die; they shall prevail against death; death shall not hurt them, because he hath lost his strength. If we would consider this, no doubt we would be more desirous to come to the communion than we be ; we would not be so cold, we would be content to leave our naughty living, and come to the Lord’s table.

Now ye have heard what shall be the chiefest dish at this marriage, namely, the body and blood of Christ. But now there be other dishes, which be sequels or hangings-on, where-with the chief dish is powdered : that is, remission of sins ; also the Holy Ghost, which ruleth and governeth our hearts ; also the merits of Christ, which are made ours : for when we feed upon this dish worthily, then we shall have remission of our sins, we shall receive the Holy Ghost.

Moreover, all the merits of Christ are ours ; his fulfilling of the law is ours, and so we be justified before God, and finally attain to everlasting life. As many therefore as feed worthily of this dish, shall have all these things with it, and in the end, everlasting life. St. Paul saith, *Qui proprio Filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum, quomodo non etiam cum illo omnia nobis donabit ?* “ He which spared not his own Son, but gave him for us all, how shall he not with

him, give us all things also?" (Rom. viii.) Therefore they that be in Christ, are partakers of all his merits and benefits, of everlasting life, and of all felicity. He that hath Christ, hath all things that are Christ's. He is our preservation from damnation, he is our comfort, he is our help, our remedy. When we feed upon him, then we shall have remission of our sins: the same remission of sins, is the greatest and most comfortable thing that can be in the world.

O what a comfortable thing is this, when Christ saith, *Remittuntur tibi peccata*, " Thy sins are forgiven unto thee." (Matt. viii.) And this is a standing sentence, it was not spoken only to that same man, but it is a general proclamation unto all us: all and every one that believeth in him, shall have forgiveness of their sins. And this proclamation is cried out daily by his ministers and preachers; which proclamation is the word of grace, the word of comfort, and consolation. For like as sin is the most fearful and the most horrible thing in heaven and in earth, so the most comfortable thing is the remedy against sin; which remedy is declared and offered unto us in this word of grace: and the power to distribute this remedy against sins, he hath given unto his ministers, which be God's treasurers, distributers of the word of God: for now he speaketh by me, he calleth you to this wedding by me, being but a poor man; yet he hath sent me to call you. And though he be the author of the word, yet he will have men to be called through his ministers to that word. Therefore let us give credit unto the minister when he speaketh God's word: yea, rather let us credit God when he speaketh by his ministers, and offereth us remission of our sins by his word. For there is no sin so great in this world, but it is pardonable, as long as we be in this world, and call for mercy; for here is the time of mercy, here we may come to forgiveness of our sins. But if we once die in sin and wickedness, so that we be damned, let us not look for remission afterwards: for the state after this life is unchangeable: but as long as we be here, we may cry for mercy. Therefore let us not despair: let us amend our lives, and cry unto God for forgiveness of our sins; and then no doubt we shall obtain remission, if we call with a faithful heart upon him, for so he hath promised unto us in his most holy word.

The holy scripture maketh mention of a sin against the Holy
Vol. II. K

Ghost, which sin cannot be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come: And this maketh many men unquiet in their hearts and consciences: for some there be which ever be afraid lest they have committed that same sin against the Holy Ghost, which is irremissible. Therefore some say, I cannot tell whether I have sinned against the Holy Ghost or not: if I have committed that sin, I know I shall be damned. But I tell you what ye shall do, despair not of the mercy of God for it is immeasurable. I cannot deny but that there is a sin against the Holy Ghost, which is irremissible; but we cannot judge of it beforehand, we cannot tell which man hath committed that sin or not, as long as he is alive: but when he is once gone, then I can judge whether he sinned against the Holy Ghost or not. As now I can judge that Nero, Saul, and Judas, and such like, that died in sins and wickedness, did commit this sin against the Holy Ghost: for they were wicked, and continued in their wickedness still to the very end; they made an end in their wickedness: but we cannot judge whether one of us sin this sin against the Holy Ghost, or not: for though a man be wicked at this time, yet he may repent, and leave his wickedness to-morrow, and so not commit that sin against the Holy Ghost.

Our Saviour Christ pronounced against the Scribes and Pharisees that they had committed that sin against the Holy Ghost: because he knew their hearts, he knew they would still abide in their wickedness to the very end of their lives. But we cannot pronounce this sentence against any man, for we know not the hearts of men: he that sinneth now, peradventure shall be turned to-morrow, and leave his sins, and so be saved. Further, the promises of our Saviour Christ are general, they pertain to all mankind; he made a general proclamation, saying: *Qui credit in me, habet vitam æternam*, “ Whosoever believeth in me hath everlasting life.” Likewise St. Paul saith, *Gratia exuberat supra peccatum*, “ The grace and mercies of God exceedeth far our sins.” Therefore let us ever think and believe that the grace of God, his mercy and goodness, exceedeth our sins.

Also consider what Christ saith with his own mouth: *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis*, &c., “ Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will ease you.” (Matt. xi.) Mark,

here he saith, "Come all ye:" wherefore then should any body despair, or shut out himself from these promises of Christ, which be general, and pertain to the whole world? For he saith, "Come all unto me." And then again he saith, "I will refresh you:" you shall be eased from the burdens of your sins. Therefore, as I said before, he that is blasphemous, and obstinately wicked, and abideth in his wickedness still to the very end, he sinneth against the Holy Ghost; as St. Augustine, and all other godly writers do affirm: but he that leaveth his wickedness and sins, is content to amend his life, and then believing in Christ, seeketh salvation and everlasting life by him; no doubt that man or woman, whosoever they be, shall be saved: for they feed upon Christ, upon that meat that God the Father, this feast-maker, hath prepared for all his guests.

You have heard now who is the maker of this feast or banquet: and again you have heard what meat is prepared for the guests; what a costly dish the house-father hath ordained at the wedding of his son. But now ye know, that where there be great dishes and delicate fare, there be commonly prepared certain sauces, which shall give men a great lust and appetite to their meats, as mustard, vinegar, and such like sauces. So this feast, this costly dish, hath its sauces; but what be they? Marry, the cross, affliction, tribulation, persecution, and all manner of miseries; for, like as sauces make lusty the stomach to receive meat; so affliction stirreth up in us a desire to Christ. For when we be in quietness we are not hungry, we care not for Christ; but when we be in tribulation, and cast in prison, then we have a desire to him, then we learn to call upon him; then we hunger and thirst after him; then we are desirous to feed upon him: as long as we be in health and prosperity, we care not for him: we be slothful, we have no stomach at all, and therefore these sauces are very necessary for us. We have a common saying amongst us, when we see a fellow sturdy, lofty, and proud, men say, this is a saucy fellow; signifying him to be a high-minded fellow, which taketh more upon him than he ought to do, or his estate requireth; which thing, no doubt, is naught and ill; for every one ought to behave himself, according unto his calling and estate.

But he that will be a christian man, that intendeth to come to heaven, must be a saucy fellow ; he must be well powdered with the sauce of affliction, and tribulation ; not with proudness and stoutness, but with miseries and calamities : for so it is written, *Omnes qui piè volunt vivere in Christo persecutionem patientur*, “ Whosoever will live godly in Christ, he shall have persecution and miseries : ” He shall have sauce enough to his meat. Again, our Saviour saith, *Qui vult meus esse discipulus abnegat semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me*, “ He that will be my disciple, must deny himself, and take his cross upon him, and follow me.” Is there any man that will feed upon me, that will eat my flesh and drink my blood ? “ Let him forsake himself.” O this is a great matter, this is a biting thing, the denying of my own will !

As for an ensample. I see a fair woman, and conceive in my heart an ill appetite to commit lechery with her ; I desire to fulfil my wanton lust with her. Here is my appetite, my lust, my will : but what must I do ? Marry, I must deny myself, and follow Christ. What is that ? I must not follow my own desire, but the will and pleasure of Christ. Now what saith he ? *Non fornicaberis, non adulteraberis*, “ Thou shalt not be a whoremonger, thou shalt not be a wedlock-breaker.” Here I must deny myself, and my will, and give place unto his will ; abhor and hate my own will : yea, and furthermore, I must earnestly call upon him, that he will give me grace to withstand my own lust and appetite, in all manner of things which may be against his will ; as when a man doth me wrong, taketh my living from me, or hurteth me in my good name and fame ; my will is to avenge myself upon him, to do him a foul turn again : but what saith God, *Miki vindictam, ego retribuam*, “ Unto me belongeth vengeance ; I will recompense the same.” Now here I must give over my own will and pleasure, and obey his will ; this I must do, if I will feed upon him, if I will come to heaven : but this is a bitter thing, a sour sauce, a sharp sauce, this sauce maketh a stomach : for when I am injured or wronged, or am in other tribulation, then I have a great desire for him, to feed upon him, to be delivered from trouble, and to attain to quietness and joy.

There is a learned man which hath a saying which is most

true: he saith, *Plus crux quam tranquillitas invitat ad Christum*: "The cross and persecution bring us sooner to Christ, than prosperity and wealth." Therefore St. Peter saith, *Humiliamini sub potenti manum Dei*, "Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God." Look what God layeth upon you, bear it willingly and humbly.

But you will say, I pray you tell me what is my cross? Answer, This that God layeth upon you, that same is your cross: not that which you of your own wilfulness lay upon yourselves. As there was a certain sect which were called Flagellarii*, which scourged themselves with whips till the blood ran from their bodies; this was a cross, but it was not the cross of God. No, no: he laid not that upon them, they did it of their own head.

Therefore look what God layeth upon me, that same is my cross, which I ought to take in good part; as when I fall in poverty, or in miseries, I ought to be content with all; when my neighbour doth me wrong, taketh away my goods, robbeth me of my good name and fame; I shall bear it willingly, considering that it is God's cross, and that nothing can be done against me without his permission. There falleth never a sparrow to the ground, without his permission: yea, not a hair falleth from our head without his will. Seeing then that there is nothing done without his will, I ought to bear this cross which he layeth upon me willingly, without any murmuring or grudging.

But I pray you consider these words of St. Peter well: *Humiliamini sub potenti manum Dei*, "Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God." Here St. Peter signifieth unto us, that God is a mighty God, which can take away the cross from us when it seemeth him good, yea, and he can send patience in the midst of all trouble and miseries. St. Paul, that elect instrument of God, shewed a reason wherefore God layeth afflictions upon us, saying; *Corripimur à Domino ne cum mundo condemnemur*, "We are chastened of the Lord,

* Otherwise called Flagellantes. This sect first appeared at Perugia in 1260, having for its author a Hermit named Rainerus. They carried a cross in their hands, wore a cowl on their heads, and went naked to the waist. Twice a day, and once in the night, they lashed themselves with knotted cords stuck with points or pins. There were many others in the Romish church, who practised the whipping system to mortify the flesh.

lest we should be condemned with the world." For you see by daily experience that the most part of wicked men are lucky in this world; they bear the swing, all things goeth after their minds; for God letteth them have their pleasures here. And therefore there is a common saying; "The more wicked, the more lucky:" but they that pertain to God, that shall inherit everlasting life; they must go to the pot, they must suffer here, according to that Scripture; *Judicium à domo Dei incipit*, "The judgment of God beginneth at the house of God:" Therefore it cometh of the goodness of God, when we be put to taste the sauce of tribulation: for he doth it to a good end, namely, that we should not be condemned with this wicked world: for these sauces are very good for us, for they make us more hungry and lusty to come to Christ and feed upon him. And truly when it goeth well with us, we forget Christ, our hearts and minds are not upon him: therefore it is better to have affliction than to be in prosperity. For there is a common saying, *Vexatio dat intellectum*, "Vexation giveth understanding." David, that excellent king and prophet, saith, *Bonum est mihi quod humiliasti me, Domine*, "Lord, it is good for me, that thou hast pulled down my stomach; that thou hast humbled me." But I pray you, what sauce had David, how was he humbled? Marry, this, his own son defiled his daughter. After that, Absalom, one other of his sons, killed his own brother. And this was not enough, but his own son rose up against him, and traitorously cast him out of his kingdom, and defiled his wife in the sight of all the people. Was not he vexed? had he not sauces? Yes, yes; yet for all that he crieth not out against God; he murmured not, but saith, "Lord, it is good for me that thou hast humbled me; that thou hast brought me low." Therefore when we be in trouble, let us be of good comfort, knowing that God doth it for the best. But for all that, the devil, that old serpent, the enemy of mankind, doth what he can day and night to bring us this sauce, to cast us into persecution, or other miseries; as it appeareth in the Gospel of Matthew, where our Saviour casting him out of a man; seeing that he could do no more harm, he desired Christ to give him leave to go into the swine: and so he cast them all into the sea. Where it appeareth, that the devil

studieh and seeketh all manner of ways to hurt us, either in soul, or else in body : But for all that let us not despair, but rather lift up our hearts unto God, desiring his help and comfort; and no doubt when we do so, he will help ; he will either take away the calamities, or else mitigate them, or at the leastwise send patience into our hearts, that we may bear it willingly.

Now you know, at a great feast, when there is made a delicate dinner, and the guests fare well; at the end of the dinner they have certain subtleties, custards, sweet and delicate things ; so when we come to this dinner, to this wedding, and feed upon Christ, and take his sauces which he hath prepared for us ; at the end cometh the sweet meat ; what is that ? Marry, remission of sins, and everlasting life ; such joy, that no tongue can express, nor heart can think : which God hath prepared for all them that come to this dinner, and feed upon his Son, and taste of his sauces.—And this is the end of this banquet.

This banquet, or marriage-dinner, was made at the very beginning of the world : God made this marriage in paradise, and called the whole world unto it, saying, *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*, “ The seed of the woman shall vanquish the head of the serpent.” This was the first calling : and this calling stood unto the faithful in as good stead as it doth unto us, which have a more manifest calling.

Afterward, Almighty God called again with these words, speaking to Abraham, *Ego ero Deus tuus et seminis tui post te*, “ I will be thy God, and thy seeds of thee.” Now what is it to be our God ? Marry, to be our defender, our comforter, our deliverer, and helper. Who was Abraham’s seed ? Marry, Christ the Son of God, he was Abraham’s seed : in him, and through him, all the world shall be blessed ; all that believe in him, all that come to this dinner, and feed upon him.

After that, all the prophets their only intent was to call the people to this wedding. Now after the time was expired which God had appointed, he said, *Venite, parata sunt omnia*, “ Come, all things are ready.”

But who are these callers ? The first, was John Baptist, which not only called with his mouth, but also shewed with

his finger, that meat which God had prepared for the whole world. He saith, *Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*, “ Lo, the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.” Also Christ himself called, saying, *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis*, “ Come to me, all ye that travail and labour, and I will refresh you.” Likewise the apostles cried, and called all the whole world, as it is written, *Exivit sonus eorum per universam terram*, “ Their sound is gone throughout all the world.” But, I pray you, what thanks had they for their calling, for their labour? Marry this, John Baptist was beheaded: Christ was crucified: the apostles were killed; this was their reward for their labours. So all the preachers shall look for none other reward: for no doubt they must be sufferers, they must taste of these sauces: their office is, *Arguere mundum de peccato*, “ To rebuke the world of sin;” which no doubt is a thankless occupation. *Ut audiant montes judicia Domini*, “ That the high hills, that is, great princes and lords, may hear the judgments of the Lord:” They must spare no body; they must rebuke high and low; when they do amiss, they must strike them with the sword of God’s word: which no doubt is a thankless occupation, yet it must be done, for God will have it so.

There be many men, which be not so cruel as to persecute or to kill the preachers of God’s word: but when they be called to feed upon Christ, to come to this banquet, to leave their wicked livings, then they begin to make their excuses; as it appeared here in this gospel: Where “ the first said, I have bought a farm, and I must needs go and see it, I pray thee have me excused. Another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them; I pray thee have me excused. The third said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come:” And these were their excuses. You must take heed that you mistake not this text: for after the outward letter, it seemeth as though no husbandman, no buyer or seller, nor married man shall enter the kingdom of God: Therefore ye must take heed that ye understand it aright. For to be a husbandman, to be a buyer or seller, to be a married man, is a good thing, and allowed of God: but the abuse of such things is reproved.

Husbandman, and married man, every one in his calling,

may use and do the works of his calling: the husbandman may go to plough; they may buy and sell; men may marry; but they may not set their hearts upon it. The husbandman may not so apply his husbandry to set aside the hearing of the word of God; for when he doth so, he sinneth damnable: for he more regardeth his husbandry, than God and his word; he hath all lust and pleasure in his husbandry, which pleasure is naught. As there be many husbandmen which will not come to service, they make their excuses that they have other business; but this excusing is naught; for commonly they go about wicked matters, and yet they would excuse themselves, to make themselves faultless; or at the least way they will diminish their faults, which thing itself is a great wickedness: to do wickedly, and then to defend that same wickedness, to neglect and despise God's word, and then to excuse such doings, like as these men do here in this gospel. The husbandman saith, "I have bought a farm, therefore have me excused: the other saith, I have bought five yoke of oxen, I pray thee have me excused:" Now when he cometh to the married man, that same fellow saith not, have me excused, as the others say, but he only saith, "I cannot come." Where it is to be noted, that the affections of carnal lusts and concupiscence are the strongest above all the other: for there be some men which set all their hearts upon voluptuousness, they regard nothing else; neither God nor his word; and therefore this married man saith, "I cannot come:" because his affections are more strong and more vehement than the other men's were: but what shall be their reward which refuse to come? The house-father saith, "I say unto you, that none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper." With these words Christ our Saviour teacheth us, that all those that love better worldly things than God and his word, shall be shut out from his supper; that is to say, from everlasting joy and felicity: for it is a great matter to despise God's word, or the minister of the same; for the office of preaching is the office of salvation; it hath warrants in scripture, it is grounded upon God's word.

St. Paul to the Romans maketh a gradation of such-wise,
Omnis quicunque invocaverit nomen Domini salvabitur: quomodo ergo invocabunt in quem non crediderunt, aut quomodo

credent ei quem non audierunt, that is to say, “ Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be saved : but how shall they call upon him, in whom they believe not ? How shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard ? How shall they hear, without a preacher ? And how shall they preach, except they be sent ? ” At the length he concludeth, saying, *Fides ex auditu*, “ Faith cometh by hearing.” Where ye may perceive how necessary a thing it is to hear God’s word, and how needful a thing it is to have preachers, which may teach us the word of God ; for by hearing we must come to faith : through faith we must be justified.

And therefore Christ saith himself, *Qui credit in me, habet vitam aeternam*, “ He that believeth in me hath everlasting life.” When we hear God’s word by the preacher, and believe that same, then we shall be saved : for St. Paul saith, *Evangelium est potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti*, “ The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to all that believe ; the gospel preached is God’s power to salvation of all believers.” This is a great commendation of this office of preaching, therefore we ought not to despise it, or little regard it ; for it is God’s instrument, whereby he worketh faith in our hearts. Our Saviour saith to Nicodemus, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit*, “ Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God.” (John iii.) But how cometh this regeneration ? By hearing and believing of the word of God : for so saith St. Peter, *Renati non ex semine mortali corruptibili*, “ We are born anew, not of mortal seed, but of immortal, by the word of God.” Likewise Paul saith in another place, *Visum est Deo per stultitiam predicationis salvos facere credentes*, “ It pleased God to save the believers through the foolishness of preaching.” But peradventure you will say, What, shall a preacher teach foolishness ? No, not so ; the preacher, when he is a right preacher, he preacheth not foolishness, but he preacheth the word of God : but it is taken for foolishness, the world esteemeth it for a trifle ; but howsoever the world esteemeth it, St. Paul saith that God will save his through it.

Here I might take occasion to inveigh against those which little regard the office of preaching, which are wont to say,

What need we such preachings every day? Have I not five wits? I know as well what is good or ill, as he doth that preacheth.

But I tell thee, my friend, be not too hasty; for when thou hast nothing to follow but thy five wits, thou shalt go to the devil with them: David, that holy prophet, said not so, he trusted not his five wits, but he said, *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, Domine*, “Lord, thy word is a candle unto my feet.” Here we learn not to despise the word of God, but highly to esteem it, and reverently to hear it; for the holy day is ordained and appointed to none other thing, but that we should at that day hear the word of God, and exercise ourselves in all godliness: but there be some which think that this day is ordained only for feasting, drinking, or gaming, or such foolishness; but they be much deceived: this day was appointed of God that we should hear his word, and learn his laws, and so serve him. But I dare say, the devil hath no days so much service as upon Sundays or holy-days; which Sundays are appointed to preaching, and to hear God’s most holy word. Therefore God saith not only in his commandments that we shall abstain from working; but he saith, *Sanctificabis*, “Thou shalt hallow:” so that holy-day keeping is nothing else but to abstain from good works, and to do better works; that is, to come together, and celebrate the communion together, and visit the sick bodies: these are holy-day works; and for that end God commanded us to abstain from bodily works, that we might be more meet and apt to do those works which he hath appointed unto us, namely, to feed our souls with his word, to remember his benefits, and to give him thanks, and to call upon him. So that the holy-day may be called a marriage day, wherein we are married unto God; which day is very needful to be kept. The foolish common people think it to be a belly-cheer day, and so they make it a surfeiting day: there is no wickedness, no rebellion, no lechery, but she hath most commonly her beginning upon the holy-day.

We read a story in the fifteenth chapter of the book of Numbers, that there was a fellow which gathered sticks upon the sabbath-day, he was a despiser of God’s ordinances and laws: like as they that nowadays go about other business,

when they should hear the word of God, and come to the common prayer; which fellows truly have need of sauce, to be made more lustier to come and feed upon Christ, than they be. Now Moses and the people consulted with the Lord, what they should do, how they should punish that fellow which had so transgressed the sabbath-day: he shall die, saith God; which thing is an ensample for us to take heed, that we transgress not the law of the sabbath-day: for though God punish us not by and by, as this man was punished: yet he is the very self-same God that he was before, and will punish one day, either here, or else in the other world, where the punishment shall be everlasting. Likewise in the seventeenth chapter of the prophet Jeremy, God threateneth his fearful wrath and anger unto those which do profane his sabbath-day. Again, he promiseth his favour and all prosperity to them that will keep the holy days; saying, "Princes and kings shall go through thy gates," that is say, Thou shalt be in prosperity, in wealth, and great estimation amongst thy neighbours.

Again, "If ye will not keep my sabbath-day, I will kindle a fire in your gates;" that is to say, I will destroy you, I will bring you to nought, and burn your cities with fire. These words pertain as well unto us at this time, as they pertained to them at their time: for God hateth the disallowing of the sabbath as well now as then; for he is and remaineth still the old God: he will have us to keep his sabbath, as well now as then; for upon the sabbath-day God's seed-plough goeth: that is to say, the ministry of his word is executed; for the ministering of God's word is God's plough. Now upon Sundays God sendeth his husbandmen to come and till; he sendeth his callers, to come and call to the wedding, to bid the guests; that is, all the world to come to that supper.

Therefore for the reverence of God consider these things, consider who calleth, namely, God; consider again who be the guests; all ye. Therefore I call you in God's name, come to this supper, hallow the sabbath-day; that is, do your holy-day-work, come to this supper; for this day was appointed of God to that end that his word should be taught and heard: prefer not your own business therefore before the hearing of the word of God. Remember the story of that man which

gathered sticks upon the holy day, and was put to death by the consent of God: where God shewed himself not a cruel God, but he woul'd give a warning unto the whole world by that man, that all the world should keep holy his sabbath-day.

The almighty ever-living God give us grace to live so in this miserable world, that we may at the end come to the great sabbath-day, where there shall be everlasting joy and gladness. *Amen.*

THE
SECOND SERMON,
OF MASTER HUGH LATIMER.
ON THE BEATITUDES,

MATTHEW, v. 1, 2, 3.

Videns autem Jesus turbas ascendit in montem, et cum consedeisset, &c.

When Jesus saw the people he went up into a mountain, and when he was set down, his disciples came unto him: and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit.

DEARLY beloved in our Saviour Christ, I have to tell you at this present time of a certain pilgrimage, which may be called the Christian man's pilgrimage, but ye shall not think that I will speak of the popish pilgrimage, which we were wont to use in times past, in running hither and thither to Mr. John Shorn*, or to our †Lady of Walsingham. No, no; I will not speak of such fooleries, but I will speak of such a pilgrimage, which our Saviour Christ himself taught us, being here present with us, with his own mouth. Therefore whosoever will come to the eternal felicity, must go that pilgrimage, else he shall never attain thereunto. *Cum vidisset autem turbas*, “ When he saw the people.” It appeareth by the end of the fourth of Matthew, that our Saviour had walked throughout all Galilee, and had done many miracles, so that the fame of him went throughout all the country: And there gathered a great number of people together to hear him: he seeing the people how hungry they were, conveyed himself

* This saint, as Lord Herbert informs us, was also styled Saint John of Ossulston, who was said to shut up the devil in a boot.—STOW, p. 575.

† In the Monastery at Walsingham in Norfolk, was a stately and beautiful image of the Virgin Mary, which for the miracles done by it was famed all over England. Erasmus has a humorous account of this place of superstitious resort in his Colloquies.

into a higher place, and his disciples came unto him, and he taught them ; but not only the disciples, but also the whole people ; for Luke saith, *Docebat audiete populo*, “ He preached, the people hearing it ;” Also, *et turba admirabitur super doctrina illius*, “ and the people marvelled because of his doctrine :” How could they marvel, if they had not heard it ! So it appeareth that Christ made his sermon not only to his disciples, but also to the whole people : yet specially he taught his disciples, to that end that they might teach afterwards to others ; for he taught them such doctrine which he would have taught all the whole world, therefore he so diligently taught them ; for though he made many sermons, yet these two sermons, the one in Matthew, and the other in John, ought to be regarded most above all others, for they contain the sum of a Christian man’s life.

Now our Saviour seeing them so hungry, what doth he ? The evangelist saith, *Aperuit os suum*, “ He opened his mouth, and taught them.” Our Saviour did not only send out his apostles to preach and teach the people, but also he opened his own mouth, and taught the people his own self. Which act of our Saviour, is to the reproach of our lordly prelates ; which in a manner disdain to preach themselves, in their own persons ; but they think it to be enough to have one or two pertaining unto them, which preach in their dioceses ; they themselves being occupied in worldly business : our Saviour did not so, he opened his own mouth, and taught the people.

Certainly this ensample of our Saviour ought better to be considered of our prelates than it is : for they be not better than Christ was. Christ hath sent them, and given unto them a commission to preach ; wherefore disdain they then to open their mouth, and teach the people ? Seeing that our Saviour himself taught, how will they be excused when they shall make account for their doings ? What shall be their reward for their slothfulness ? No doubt, everlasting damnation hangeth over their heads.

Now our Saviour opening his mouth, what taught he them ? Marry, he taught them a pilgrimage, the christian man’s pilgrimage : and this is a good and true pilgrimage that he taught ; for this pilgrimage standeth not in running hither

and thither: No, no; this is a right pilgrimage, but there is strange gear in it; yea, such gear, that if I should say it of my own head, you would not believe me, you would say I lie: for it agreeth not with our mother wit, we cannot compass this gear with our natural wit: therefore we must consider who speaketh it, and so captivate our reason and wit to the wisdom of God.

Now Christ, the eternal Son of God, he teacheth us this pilgrimage: of which God the Father himself saith, *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacitum est, ipsum audite*: “This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him.” Seeing then that the Almighty God commanded us to hear him, we ought not to regard his doctrine little, to esteem and value it for nothing; but most highly esteem it as the unfallible word of God. Now what saith he? *Beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum cælorum*, “Blessed be the poor in the spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,” &c. I intend to be very short, else I could not have time to go through all things that pertain to this pilgrimage. This is a pilgrimage of eight miles, or of eight days’ journeys; all things that pertain unto it are comprehended in eight points.

Our Saviour saith, *Beati pauperes*, “Blessed be the poor;” this is contrary to our reason: for who would think poverty to be a blessedness? who is that would not rather be rich than poor? To be rich is a blessedness in our eyes; to be poor is an unhappiness in our minds: but we must subdue our judgments. We esteem it to be a cursedness to be poor: Well, our Saviour saith, “Blessed are the poor.” Luke hath no more but these words; Matthew addeth, *Spiritu*, “In the spirit.”

These eight miles, or days’ journeys, may be called paradoxæ; that is to say, inopinable, incredible, and unbelievable sayings: For if Christ had not spoken it himself, who should have believed it? for we see daily before our eyes what a miserable thing is poverty; therefore our nature is ever given to avoid poverty, and to come to riches. But Christ saith, *Beati pauperes*, “Blessed be the poor in spirit, for the kingdom of heaven is theirs.”

The kingdom of heaven is taken sometimes for the office of

preaching ; as when he compared the kingdom of heaven to “ a net that catcheth good and bad fishes,” there he meaneth the office of preaching ; sometimes it is taken for eternal felicity, which Christ our Saviour merited for us. When John Baptist sendeth his disciples unto Christ to ask him whether he be Christ or not, he told them what miracles he had done, and amongst other things he said, *Pauperes evangelizant*, “ The poor hear the gospel ;” meaning, that the poor be more willing to hear the gospel, they take more pain in hearing God’s word, than the rich do : for the rich commonly least regard the gospel. Look throughout all England, and you shall find it so. Likewise he saith by the prophet, *Ad evangelizandum pauperibus misit me*, “ He hath sent me to preach the gospel unto the poor ;” because the poor hath more pleasure in it : the rich men commonly regard it for nothing : therefore it is a wonderful thing that such terrible things are written of rich men, and yet we seek all to be rich, and call them blessed and happy that be so. But ye heard upon Sunday last, how that these rich farmers made their excuses : they would not come to the banquet which God had prepared for them, because their riches did let them : therefore riches are called thorns in scripture.

As for an ensample : There be two ways to a town, the one is plain and straight, the other is full of thorns. Now he that goeth the plain way shall sooner come to his journey’s end, than he that goeth the thorny way : So it is more easier without riches to come to heaven, than with riches : but our nature is so corrupt, that we ever desire that thing that may do us harm. I will not say but men may have riches, and many good men have had great riches ; yet riches must be had, *cum tremore*, with fear : for it is a dangerous thing to have them : they be but burthens, they that have them be but bailiffs and stewards over them, they must make account for them. And therefore above all things rich men must have in fresh memory this scripture : *Divitiae si affluent nolite cor apponere*, “ When riches come upon you, set not your hearts upon them : ” use them to such end as God hath appointed : with your copiousness help the wants of the poor miserable people : and this is our duty to do. For he that hath riches, and helpeth not the poor withal, but layeth them up for him-

self, he is a thief before God, though he do come rightly and justly by his goods : for he doth not his duty : he withdraweth that from the poor that pertaineth unto them ; for God requireth of the rich to relieve and help the poor with his riches : when he now doth it not, the writers call him a thief. Here ye see what a burthen it is to have riches, therefore let us not be so greedy over them : and when we have them, let us remember that we be but God's stewards, and distributers of his treasures.

You must mark here that our Saviour when he saith : “Blessed be the poor ;” he commendeth not the friar’s poverty, that same wilful poverty, but if you be come to poverty for confessing of Christ, then thou art blessed. Again, I am a rich man, the fire cometh and taketh away my riches. As Job was a rich man, but what happened ? His enemy came and took away all together : so we may this day be rich, and tomorrow we may be beggars : for the riches be chanceable unto us, but not unto God : for God knoweth when, and to whom he will give them, or take them away again. Now when I come to poverty by chance, so that God sendeth poverty unto me, then I am blessed ; when I take poverty well, without grudging.

And therefore he addeth, *Spiritu*, “In spirit ;” that is, to take it in good part with a faithful heart, knowing that God sendeth the same unto us : so that when we come to poverty by such chances, or by persecutions, so that I cast not away my goods wilfully as the friars did, which was a leaving of riches devised by their own minds : but else he that doth his business according unto his calling, and then God endueth him with poverty ; let him take it with joy and gladness : for these blessings which Christ promised unto us here in this gospel, shall light upon him ; therefore take it so, that poverty is a blessing, when she is taken with a faithful heart ; else indeed it is to no purpose, except it proceed out of faith. Be not eager therefore to have riches, and when ye have them, that God sendeth them, set not too much by them. For Christ saith it is hard for a rich man to come to heaven ; speaking of those which set their hearts upon riches : which men indeed be very idolaters : for they put their hope, trust, and confidence in them ; so that whatsoever shall happen, they think they will

escape, having money, and so they make money their God ; which is a most wicked and abominable thing in the sight of the Lord. For God would have us to hang upon him, to trust in him, be we poor or rich : If we be rich, we should not set our hearts upon riches : if we be poor, we should comfort ourselves with this scripture, *Non est inopia timentibus eum,* “ They that fear him shall not lack.”

Now the second mile, or day’s journey in this pilgrimage, is this ; *Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur,* “ Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall have comfort.” We after our reasons esteem them happy that can make merry in this world ; but our Saviour, contrariwise, pronounceth them blessed that mourn and weep in this world. We seek all to be in that case, that we might laugh and be merry, for we think that to be a great blessedness : but our Saviour pronounceth them blessed that weep. And therefore Scripture saith, *Melius est ite ad domum luctus, quam ad domum convivii,* “ It is better to go to the mourning house, than to the house of banqueting :” For he that goeth to sick folks, it shall be a good admonition, it shall make him to consider the fragility and weakness of mankind, and so stir him up to make ready, and not to set much by this world. St. Paul speaketh of two manner of sorrowfulness, the one is worldly, the other is ghostly ; the worldly sorrowfulness is without faith : as the wicked, when they weep, they are sorrowful : yet this comfort, of which Christ here speaketh, is not promised unto them. Esau wept when Jacob beguiled him, but his weeping was without faith. Truly happy are those that have much occasion to weep and wail : For, *Vexatio dat intellectum,* “ Vexation and trouble maketh us to know ourselves, and teacheth us to leave sin and wickedness.” There be many which be in great miseries, shut out of their houses, or in sickness, or other trouble : they shall comfort themselves with this blessing, which Christ our Saviour promiseth unto them : namely, they shall be sure that they shall have comfort and relief of their miseries, for he will not suffer them to be further tempted than they shall be able to bear, and then in the end they shall have everlasting comfort.

It is a notable answer that Abraham maketh to the rich man, when he lay in hellish fire : My son, saith he, *Recepisti, bona*

in vita, “Thou hast received thy good days in thy life-time, now thou shalt be punished: But Lazarus hath had miseries and calamities; and therefore he shall be comforted now.” So we must learn to be content, to go from weeping to laughing, from sorrow to eternal felicity; but we must first suffer here; we may not go from the one felicity to the other; therefore, St. Jerome saith, that “he is a delicate soldier that will not suffer sometimes miseries and calamities.”

Therefore let us be content with it, let us bear them with a faithful heart, else we shall not attain to this comfort; for the miseries that the godless have, *Operantur mortem*, “They work their own destruction, and everlasting perdition.” For they cannot bear them as they ought to do; they murmur and cry out against God: but the godly, when he is in miseries he taketh great profit by it, for miseries drive him to leave sin and wickedness, and to repent for that which he hath done against God. Here you may perceive now that they that will have comfort must go to that pilgrimage, they must taste miseries, and so at the end they shall have everlasting comfort.

The third mile or day’s journey, is this; *Beati mites quoniam inheritabunt terram*, “Blessed be the meek, for they shall inherit the land.” This meekness is such a thing, that whosoever hath her can be quiet in all things: he that hath her will not avenge himself. But ye must know there be two manner of vengeance. There is a private vengeance, and there is a public vengeance: the public vengeance is allowed of God; the private is forbidden. For God saith to every private man, *Mihi vindictam ego retribuam*, “Let me have the vengeance; and I will reward it.” When any man doth me wrong, I shall or may not avenge me, nor yet desire in my heart to be avenged upon him; I being a private man, and not a magistrate.

But there is a public vengeance, that is, the magistrates, they must see that wrong-doers be punished, and rewarded according to their misbehaviours. But I may not avenge myself. For I am blessed when my goods be taken from me wrongfully, and I take it well. For Christ saith, *Inheritabunt terram*, “They shall inherit the land:” he that for God’s sake leaveth his land, or his goods, he shall inherit the land: so he shall with leaving the land, inherit the land: but what

shall I do when my goods be taken from me? Answer, go to God's promises, which are, *Centuplum accipiet*, "He shall receive it again an hundred fold." The public vengeance is committed unto the magistrates. God commandeth unto them to punish the transgressors: and again the law-breaker, or misdoer, ought to obey, and to suffer the punishment which the magistrates shall lay upon him: for so it is written, *Auferes malum ē medio populi*, "Thou shalt take away the ill from amongst the people." So ye hear how that we may not avenge ourselves when any man doth us wrong. Yet, for all that, this taketh not away the liberty of the use of the law: for a christian man may go to the law, and seek remedy: yet we must take heed that we go not to avenge ourselves upon our neighbour, with a vengeable heart: nor yet should we go with a covetous heart, to get ought of our neighbour: else it is lawful to use the law, when it is done with a charitable heart. As it is lawful for me being sick to go to the physician, without breach of my faith to Godward: but if I should go to the physician in despair of God, then this going were a wicked going. So I say, when we will go to the law, we must beware that it be done charitably, not with a vengeable mind; for whosoever seeketh to be avenged, he shall not be blessed of God. Again, whosoever sufferereth wrong at his neighbour's hand, and taketh it willingly, he shall be blessed of God.

An ensample we have in Joseph: his brethren sold him, and handled him most cruelly, and tyrannously: what did he? he took it willingly, without any revengement. What did God? Marry, he fulfilled his promise, *Inheritabunt terram*, "They shall inherit the land." Therefore he made him lord over all Egypt; This did God, and so he will do unto us. But our heart is so poisoned with the poison of malice, that we think we should be undone,, when we should not avenge ourselves; but they that have the Spirit of God, and to whom these blessings pertain, they will be charitable, and yet use the law when necessity shall require so; but they will do it with a godly mind. *Terram*, "They shall inherit the land:" some expound the land for eternal life, but it may be understood of this world too: for they that be patient and bear and suffer, God will reward them here in this world, and yonder too. Now ye have heard

what we shall have when we be meek-spirited ; let us therefore set aside all stubbornness, all vengeance, hatred, and malice, one against another ; so that we may obtain that land which Christ promised us.

Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur, “ Blessed be they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied.” These words be expounded diversely ; it may be understood so, “ Blessed be they that hunger and thirst,” that is to say, that have so great a desire to righteousness, as a hungry man hath to his meat and drinck. Some expound it of the justice of the soul : for the faithful be ever hungry, they ever think they be not well : they be sore behind the hand : and so do not the hypocrites, for they have *opera supererogationis*, they have so much that they are able to sell unto other men too, and bring them to heaven. But I will expound these words so : they that hunger be they that suffer wrong, for when a man suffereth wrong and injuries, he hungereth and thirsteth to have justice, to come to his right ; for it is a common saying amongst the people, The law is ended as the man is friended.

Now he that is so injured and wronged, and hath a godly hunger and thirst to righteousness, he shall be satisfied in this world, and in the world to come he shall have everlasting life. Ensamples we have in scripture. Joseph, when he was sold to Potiphar, that great man, he was a fair young springold : now his master Potiphar’s wife, seeing his beauty, cast her love upon him, insomuch that he could be no where but she came after him ; but Joseph fearing God, refused her, and would not commit with her the filthy act of lechery. What followeth, she went by and by and made an outcry, and accused him, as though he would have ravished her. So at the length Joseph was cast into prison, where he hungered and thirsted after righteousness, after justice ; that is, he was desirous to have his right : yet for all that he took the matter well and godly, he sought not for vengeance ; we in our foolishness, and mother wits, esteem them blessed that can use the matter so, that the law may go with them, that they may have the overhand ; they are called blessed which bear the swing, which are not exercised with trouble. I remember I read once a story of a bishop

which came to a rich man's house where he had good cheer, and the good man in the house shewed him all his riches and prosperities, his goodly wife and his fair children: in sum, they lacked nothing at all, he himself had never been sick: the bishop hearing that, thought in his mind, no doubt God is not here; and so commanded his servant to make ready the horses, and by and by went his way. When he came a little far off from the house, he sendeth his man back again to fetch a book, which was forgotten behind; when the servant came, the house was sunk.

So we see that worldly prosperity maketh us to forget God, and in the end to be damned. Jacob, that holy man, when he served Laban his uncle and father-in-law, what wrongs had he! how unjustly dealt Laban with him! no doubt he had great hunger and thirst after righteousness, therefore God satisfied his appetite, for he blessed him, and enriched him wonderfully, against Laban's mind. There be few of such servants nowadays as Jacob was, and though he had a wicked master, yet he served him truly: I wish all servants would follow the ensample of Jacob. This I speak to make you patient in tribulation, and to stir up in you a hunger and thirst after righteousness. You hear how Joseph was blessed in bearing the injuries which that foolish woman did unto him.

David also, O what good service did he unto king Saul? yet Saul went about to destroy him; think ye not David hungry and thirsted after righteousness? No doubt he did; yet he might have avenged himself, but he would not: for he had this meekness of which Christ our Saviour speaketh here, and so consequently did inherit the land, according unto his promise.

Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur, "Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." I will not tarry long herein, you know which be the works of mercy. "I was hungry, saith Christ, I was naked," &c. (Matthew xxv.) There is a ghostly mercy, which is to admonish them that be in errors, to bring them to the right way. *Item,* also to forgive them that do me wrong, this is a mercy, and a needful mercy; and therefore they that will be cruel here, so that they will not forgive unto their neighbours their faults, let them not look for mercy at God's hands. For we must be merciful, loving, and comfortable towards our neigh-

bour, when we will obtain mercy at God's hands. But this seemeth now as though malefactors ought not to be put to death, because God requireth mercy. Sir, you must understand, that God requireth private mercy ; so that private men one shall forgive unto the other : but it is another matter with the magistrates ; the king, and all other magistrates, are God's officers, they must do according as God requireth them to do ; he saith, *Auferes malum ē medio populi, nec misereberis ei*, " Thou shalt take away, thou shalt root out the ill, (them that be malefactors) from amongst the people : and shew not mercy unto them." Here were a place to entreat of ministering of justice, if the audience were thereafter : how justices of peace and other magistrates ought not to be bolsterers, and bearers with wickedness, but punish the malefactors according to their deserts : *Væ qui justificatis impium*, " Wo be unto you that justify the wicked." To justify the wicked, is not to punish them : *Et qui justificat impium, et qui condemnat justum, ambo abominabiles coram Domino*, " He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, they are both wicked and abominable before the Lord." So that magistrates ought to punish sin and wickedness : but private men, one ought to shew mercy unto another : that is, he ought to forgive when any man hath done him harm, and so he shall have mercy at God's hand.

Beati mundi corde quoniam ipsi videbunt Deum, " Blessed be the clean of heart, for they shall see God." By these words we may perceive that we shall not look to see God, to see our felicity, when we be impure of heart. We cannot come to that unspeakable joy and felicity which God hath prepared for his, except we be clean in our hearts : therefore David, knowing that lesson, saith unto God, *Cor mundum crea in me, Deus*, " O God, make clean my heart within me." But ye will ask, how shall our hearts be purified and cleansed ? Answer, *Fide purificantur corda*, " Through faith the hearts of men must be cleansed." They that hear God's word, and believe that same to be true, and live after it, their hearts shall be purified, and so they shall see God.

There be two manner of seeing God ; as long as we be here, we must see him by faith, in believing in him : yonder we shall see him face to face, how he is ; therefore believe here,

and see there. And so it appeareth, that he that will not hear God's word, and believe the same, that his heart may be cleansed, he shall not see God.

Beati pacificæ quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur, “Blessed be the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.” Here is another journey. There is a law in Deuteronomy, where God saith, *Non erit susurro nec calumniator in populo*, “There shall not be a slanderer or whisperer, amongst you, which are my people.” But I tell you this law is not kept: for there be a great many of those which speak fair with their tongues, as though they would creep into a man's bosom, but behind his back, or before other men, they betray him, they lie upon him, and do all they can to bring him out of estimation: these whisperers be peace-breakers, and not peace-makers; for the devil bringeth his matters to pass through such fellows: there be many such in England, which tell false tales of others to promote themselves withal; these be the children of the devil, and no doubt the devil hath many children in the world.

I will shew you an ensample: There was one Doeg an Idumean, a servant of Saul the king, he was *Princeps pastorum*, “the master over his herdmen:” When David flying from Saul, came to the priest Ahimelech, very hungry and weary, and therefore desired some meat, the priest having none other bread but *panis propositionis*, “the holy bread;” of that he gave David; and after that he gave him the sword of Goliath, whom David had killed before. Now this Doeg being there at that time, what doeth he? Like a whisperer, or man-pleaser, he goeth to Saul the king, and told him, how the priest had refreshed David in his journey, and had given unto him the sword of Goliath. Saul hearing that, being in a great fury, sent for all the priests, and their wives, and their children, and slew them all.

This Doeg now, that whisperer, was not a peace-maker, but a peace-breaker; and therefore not a child of God, but of the devil. I could tell you of some other Doegs, of other whisperers; for I have known some in my time, but all such are the children of the devil, they are not God's children; for Christ our Saviour called those God's children that are peace-makers, not them that cut their neighbour's throat. Seeing now that it is so good a thing to be a peace-maker, let all them that be in

superiority endeavour themselves to be peace-makers : let the landlords shew themselves to be peace-makers ; when they hear of contentions and strifes between their tenants, send for them, and hear their matters, and make him that is faulty to be punished ; and so let them be peace-makers. But there be some gentlemen in England, which think themselves born to nothing else but to have good cheer in this world, to go a hawking and hunting. I would wish they would endeavour themselves rather to be peace-makers, to counsel and help poor men, and when they hear of any discord to be between neighbours and neighbours, to set them together at unity ; this should be rather their exercise than banqueting, and spending their time in vain. But they will say, it is a great pain and labour to meddle in matters, to be a peace-maker. Sir, you must consider, that it is a great matter to be a child of God, and therefore we ought to be content to take pains to be peace-makers, that we may be the children of God. But in matters of religion, we must take heed that we have such a peace which may stand with God and his word ; for it is better to have no peace at all, than to have it with the loss of God's word.

In the time of the six articles, there was a bishop which ever cried unity, unity ; but he would have a popish unity. St. Paul to the Corinthians saith, *Sitis unanimes*, “ Be of one mind :” But he addeth, *Secundum Jesum Christum*, “ According to Jesus Christ ;” that is, according to God’s holy word ; else it were better war than peace : we ought never regard unity, so much that we would or should forsake God’s word for her sake. When we were in popery we agreed well, because we were in the kingdom of the devil, we were in blindness. In Turkey we hear not of any dissension amongst them for religion’s sake. The Jews that now be have no dissension amongst them, because they be in blindness. When the rebels were up in Norfolk and Devonshire, they agreed all, there was no dissension : but there peace was not, *secundum Jesum Christum*, “ according to Jesus Christ.” Therefore St. Hilary hath a pretty saying : *Speciosum quidem nomen est pacis et pulchra opinio unitatis: sed quis dubitat eam solam unicam Ecclesiae pacem esse quæ Christi est;* “ It is a goodly word, Peace, and a fair thing Unity ; but who doubts but this to be the only

right peace of the church, which peace is after Christ, according to his words?" Therefore let us set by unity, let us be given to love and charity: but so that it may stand with godliness. For peace ought not to be redeemed, *Jactura veritatis*, with loss of the truth; that we would seek peace so much, that we should lose the truth of God's word.

Beati qui persecutionem patiunter propter justitiam, "Blessed be they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." This is the last journey, when we be demanded of our faith, and examined, and afterward be forced to believe as they will: when we come to that point, blessed are we when we suffer rather all extremities than forsake the truth, yea, we shall esteem it to be a great blessedness when we be in such trouble. And not only this, but whosoever sufferereth any thing for any manner of righteousness' sake, blessed is he: the questmonger doing uprightly his duty in discharging of his conscience; now he shall have displeasure, happy is he, and he shall have his reward of God.

Beati estis quum maledixerint vobis homines, &c. "Blessed are ye when men speak ill of you;" *Gaudete, quoniam merces vestra copiosa est, &c.*, "Be merry, because your reward is great in heaven." Now ye have heard which is the way to heaven, what manner a pilgrimage we must go: namely, first by spiritual poverty, by hunger and thirst after righteousness, by meekness and lenity, by weeping and wailing, by pity and mercifulness, also we must have a clean heart, and we must be peace-makers, and we must suffer tribulation and affliction.

Then shall the end be, *Merces vestra erit capioso est in calis,* "Your reward shall be great in heaven." *Merces,* "Reward," this word soundeth as though we should merit somewhat by our own works, for reward and merit are correspondent, one followeth the other: when I have merited, then I ought to have my reward. But we shall not think so; for ye must understand, that all our works are imperfect; we cannot do them so perfectly as the law requireth, because of our flesh, which ever letteth us. Wherefore is the kingdom of God called then a reward? because it is merited by Christ: for as touching our salvation and eternal life, it must be merited, but not by our own works, but only by the merits

of our Saviour Christ. Therefore believe in him, trust in him; it is he that merited heaven for us: yet for all that, every man shall be rewarded for his good works in everlasting life, but not with everlasting life: For it is written, *Vita æterna donum Dei*, "The everlasting life is a gift of God." Therefore we should not esteem our works so perfect as though we should or could merit heaven by them: yet God hath such pleasure in such works which we do with a faithful heart, that he promiseth to reward them in everlasting life.

Now to make an end, I desire you in God's behalf, remember this pilgrimage, which I have taught you: set not light by it, for it is our Saviour's own doctrine, he with his own mouth taught us this pilgrimage. When we will now follow him, and do according as he teacheth us, then all these blessings, of which mention is made, shall light upon us; and in the end we shall obtain everlasting life: which grant both you and me, God the Father through his only Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

THE
THIRD SERMON,
PREACHED ON
THE TWENTY-FIRST SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY, 1552,
BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

EPHESIANS vi. 10, 11, 12.

De cetero fratres, confortamini in Domino et in potentia virtutis ejus, induite vos armaturam Dei, &c.}

My brethren, be strong in the Lord, and through the power of his might put on all the armour of God, that ye may stand against all the assaults of the devil. For we wrestle not against blood and flesh, but against rule, against power, against worldly rulers.

SAINT PAUL, that elect instrument of God, taketh muster of God's warriors, and teacheth christian people to war, telleth them plainly that they must be warriors; as it is written in the book of Job: *Militia est vita hominis super terram*, "The life of a man or woman is nothing else but a warfare;" it is nothing but a continual battling and warring. Not very long ago I entreated of a pilgrimage; I told you at that time of the very godly and ghostly pilgrimage, and such a pilgrimage, which all saints whilst they were in this world walked: they went all to the pilgrimage, but it is a hard pilgrimage, an uneasy way to walk: but we must needs go it; there is no remedy; either we must go that painful pilgrimage, or else never go to heaven: for we may not go from joy to joy and pleasure, but from sorrow and misery to felicity; we may not look to have here good cheer, and yonder everlasting life: for we may not look for joy and jolly cheer at both sides. We have no such promise of Christ our Saviour: he promised unto us that we should be sufferers here in this world, and then in the world to come we shall have life everlasting; therefore let us be content, for though

it be a hard journey, yet there shall be a good end of it. Like as when a man goeth a great journey, and laboureth very sore, but in the end he cometh to good cheer, then all his labour is forgotten ; so we shall come at the end to that felicity which no eyes hath seen, no ears hath heard, nor heart perceived, which God hath prepared for his elect.

Now here in this epistle St. Paul telleth us of a certain warfare : he taketh muster not only of the Ephesians, to whom this epistle is written ; but also of us which be Christians : for all that is required of them is required of us. The first point that pertaineth to this warfare, is to be strong and hardy : and this is a commandment, as who say, You that be Christians, that be baptized in his name, that look to be saved through Christ, I command you to be strong, ye may not be weaklings ; for ye must fight hard, there is neither man nor woman but they must fight, they must come to that battle ; and we may not be weaklings, because we have a strong enemy : now he that hath a strong and mighty enemy, ought not to be weak and fearful ; for if he be, he shall be soon overcome and vanquished. Therefore St. Paul would have us strong, that we may be able to fight against that fearful enemy the devil. But for all that, St. Paul would not have us to stand to our own strength, to think to vanquish this mighty enemy by our own power or might : No not so, for when we put our hope in our own strength, we shall soon be overcome ; he shall have the victory by and by. We shall put our hope, trust, and confidence in God, and trust through Christ our Saviour to overcome this enemy. We may not do as one Ajax did, whom his father sendeth forth with a company of men to warfare, giving him good and wholesome lessons and instructions that he should put his hope and trust in God at all times, then he should have luck : Ajax answered and said unto his father : “ It is not a great matter to get the victory with the help of God ; yea, the fearfulest and weakest man can get the victory when God helpeth him ; but I will get the victory with mine own strength : without the help of God, I am able to fight.” Such blasphemies spake this Ajax. But we shall not do so as he did, trusting in our own strength, for if we do, we shall come too short, we shall lose the victory, to our eternal

destruction. St. Paul saith, *Confortamini in Domino*, “ Be strong in the Lord ;” we must be strong by a borrowed strength, for we of our own selves are too weak and feeble : Therefore let us learn where we shall fetch our strength, namely, from above ; for we have it not of our own selves.

Now he saith, “ Put on all the harness of God ?” you know that when a man goeth to war, and is harnessed all about, except at one place ; if his enemy spy this bare place, he woundeth him as soon as though he had no harness at all. Therefore St. Paul commandeth us, that we should have the whole armour, nothing lacking ; for we may not go with pieces, having one thing, and lacking the other. For when we be wounded we shall do but little good after. Wherefore doth St. Paul require such strength, and such weapons, and teacheth us to fight ? Answer, to the end that we may quench and pull down the devil, that we may strive against him, lest peradventure he overcome us ; and bring us in danger of our souls : for ye know in battle as long as a man standeth he is well, he hath hope to escape, but as soon as he is down, then he is in jeopardy of his life. So likewise as long as we stand and fight against the devil, we are well ; but when we fall, then we are in danger, lest he get the victory over us ; therefore he would have us to stand against the assaults of the devil. Now you must consider what manner an enemy he is that fighteth against us ; and first consider his power ; the scripture saith, *Non est potestas*, “ There is no power on earth which may be compared unto his power.” (Job. xli.)

Now that strong fellow is God’s enemy and ours ; therefore St. Paul biddeth us to be strong, and armed round about : but to do on our own harness, that we may not ; but we must do on the armour of God, which he hath appointed for us : therefore we must not learn of the devil to fight, he shall not teach us to battle : for it were like as if we should fight against the Scots, and had none other harness, but as they appointed unto us. No doubt if we were in that case, they would appoint such weapons for us, that they might get the victory, and give us an overthrow. So when we should fight against the devil, and had none other weapons but as he appointed unto us, no doubt he would soon give us an overthrow ; for

he would appoint weapons wherewith we could not overcome him and withstand his power.

Further, the diligence of the devil is expressed and declared unto us by the mouth of St. Peter, which saith, "he goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour;" (1 Pet. v.) he useth all crafts and deceits, he compasseth the matter hither and thither: till at length he bringeth his matters to pass; for he is no sluggard, no sleeper, nor negligent, but he applieth his matters and businesses to the uttermost. Now that he is subtile, it appeareth in holy scripture; for so it is written, *Serpens erat calidior cæteris animalibus*, "The serpent was wiser than the other beasts were." Here appeared his wits, subtleties, and crafts. Ever after that he hath had a great and long time to exercise himself withal, he hath had five thousand five hundred and fifty-three years, such a long time he hath had to exercise himself withal. Therefore it is not in vain that St. Paul would have us hearty and strong, and fight with a good courage. This devil was once an angel in heaven, and for pride he was cast down: for he went about to exalt himself above God, therefore he was pulled down, and all his company with him; all the angels that took his part, and so he fell with a great number, they fell down from heaven, and here they be in the air: yet they be invisible unto us, because they be spirits: but for all that they be amongst us, and about us, to let us of good things, and to move us to naughtiness. I am not able to tell how many thousand be here amongst us now in this chamber; and no doubt some were busy to keep some men away from the hearing of the word of God: for their nature is either to keep men away from hearing of God's word, so that they shall not hear it at all; or else at the least way, they occupy men's heads with other business, so that they shall hear it without profit. Now when he bringeth the matter to pass according to his mind, then he rejoiceth wonderfully with his company. So that the writers say, that if we could see them, we should perceive them to hop and dance upon our heads for gladness, because they have done unto us a mischief. We see them not, they be invisible, as I told you before: but no doubt here they be for our exercise; for it were a small thing to believe well, if there were nothing moving to the contrary.

Therefore it is so ordained of God that we should have war, yea, and nothing but war, a standing war, and not only for men, but also for women: for the women must battle and fight with this horrible enemy as well as men. And he is stronger than we be, when we be alone; so that we shall not be able to give him an overthrow. But when Christ is with us, then he can do nothing at all, because Christ hath vanquished his power and might: therefore his impotency appeared in the eighth of Matthew, when our Saviour came into the region of the Gergesites, there came two men unto him possessed of the devil, and they cried and said, "Jesu, thou son of David, wherefore art thou come before the time to afflict us:" where it appeareth, that they tremble and are fearful when Christ is present: therefore they say, *Cur veniente ante tempus?* "Wherefore art thou come before thy time?" The devils know that they be damned, and that they must go to hell: yet they that be here have not yet appointed unto them their places; and though they have the pains with them, yet they have it not so fully and perfectly as they shall have at the last day. And their greatest joy and comfort is to do us harm: for they know that they be fallen for ever, so that they shall never attain to that joy which they have had. And again, they know that we shall come thither, and therefore they envy God and us: but their impotency appeareth, for they take it for a torment to be letted: it is a great grief unto them, yet they are not able to strive against the commandment of Christ. Therefore we need not fear them, sith Christ is with us; they are weak enemies, when we put on our arms, which St. Paul describeth here: for all the devils in hell or in earth, are not able to fight against one of those that hath these armours: for ye see he dare not disobey Christ commanding him to go out of the man. Now when he perceived that he could do no more harm unto the man, then he desired Christ to let him go into the swine: where appeareth partly his impotency that he could not go without Christ's permission: partly his mischievous mind appeareth; for when he seeth that he can do us no harm in our bodies, then he goeth about to hurt us in our goods.

But when we have Christ with us, he is not able to hurt us neither of our souls, bodies, or goods; that is, when we be-

lieve in Christ. For to have Christ with us, is nothing else but to believe and trust in him, to seek aid and help by him, against our enemy the devil. Therefore Christ saith to all his faithful, to all those that believe in him, *Ego sum vobiscum usque ad consummationem seculi*, “ I am with you till to the end of the world,” to assist you, to help you, to defend you, and to hear your prayers when ye call upon me: therefore, though we cannot withstand this enemy by our own power, yet with Christ’s help we shall chase him, and put him back, make him ashamed of his enterprise and purpose.

Non est nobis lucta cum carne et sanguine, “ We have not to fight with flesh and blood.” Here the Anabaptists make very much ado, intending to prove by these words of St. Paul, that no christian man may fight or go to warfare; neither may there be any magistrates, say they, which should shed blood, and punish the wicked for his wickedness. But these fond fellows are much deceived in their own wits: for St. Paul’s mind is clean contrary unto their sayings. St. Paul teacheth here, how all christian people must fight, but not so that one should fight with another: but he speaketh here of a singular fight, we may not fight one with another: though my neighbour doth me wrong, yet I may not fight with him, and avenge myself upon him: for God saith, “ Let me have the vengeance, and I will reward it;” and no doubt God will reward the wicked for his wickedness, either by himself, or else by the magistrates. Some there be that be punished by the magistrates for their misdoings; and again there be some which escape hanging in this world, yet for all that God punishment them, either with sickness, or else other ways. But ye must know that there is a private vengeance, and a public: the private vengeance is, when a man goeth about to avenge himself upon his neighbour; which thing is inhibited here by these words of St. Paul: “ We have not to fight with flesh and blood;” but there is a public vengeance, that is the magistrates: the magistrate ought to fight and to punish; when he seeth cause, he may and ought to strike malefactors with the sword: for St. Paul saith, *Est ministri Dei ad vindictam*, “ The magistrate is a minister of God to punish.” Also in another place of scripture he saith, “ The Lord is just, and he loveth justice;” therefore the foolish Anabaptists are much deceived,

for this place taketh not away all manner of fightings, but only the private fighting; but the magistrate may draw his sword and strike: and certainly every governor and ruler, every king, may defend his realm, chase and put by the invaders.

Again, the subjects are bound in conscience to fight whensoever they be required of their king and lord; and no doubt, that man that so fighteth, being lawfully called thereunto, he is in the service of God, he is God's servant: but above all things, the magistrate, the king, must see that his quarrel be good and lawful before he proceed to shed Christian blood. For they bear God's sword, not to do harm but good, to punish and strike the wicked, and defend the good. Therefore, as I said before, the Anabaptists cannot prove by that scripture that there shall be no magistrates nor battlings, or that magistrates may not draw their swords against those that trespass. But subjects may not of their own private authority take the sword, or rebel against their king; for when they rebel, they serve the devil, for they have no commission of God so to do; but of their own head they rise against God, that is, against the king, to whom they owe obedience, and so worthily be punished.

Therefore, good Christian people, beware of rebelling against your sovereign lord the king: but when there be rebels or invaders, and ye be called of the king to withstand them, go with a good will and conscience; and be well assured that it is God's service in withstanding the rebels, or the king's enemies; and no doubt he that refuseth at such a time to serve the king, or else is slow in serving, that curse shall lighten upon him, that God threateneth by the holy prophet Jeremy, saying, *Maledictus qui facit opus Domini negligenter, et maledictus qui gladium suum abstinet a sanguine,* "Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently; and cursed be he that kept his sword from bloodshedding." And no doubt that man that dieth so in fighting against the king's enemy, he dieth in God's service, in God's quarrel. But yet I would not have men to call themselves, or come without calling: I would have them to tarry till they be called; for when they be authorized, they have a vocation of God to go. But against rule, against power, against worldly rulers, with these names St. Paul describeth the devil, signifying unto us his might and

power when God permitteth and suffereth him. And then he is subtil, therefore he saith that we must fight against the spiritual craftiness, which craftiness passeth all craftiness : he is nimble and ready to all mischief, his agility is wonderful, his activity is unspeakable.

In celestibus, “ In the element.” We read in the scriptures that the fowls are called, *volucres cœli*, “ The fowls of the heaven,” that is, in the parts of the air here amongst us. So the devil is here amongst us in the middest part of the air, ready ever to move us against God, whensoever he can espy his time, he spareth not, he loseth no time. As for an example, when the devils perceive one to be given to swearing and cursing, they ever minister matters unto him to retain him in his cursing and to prick him forward : when they perceive one to be given to proudness, they ever move his heart to go forward in the same : when they see or perceive any man given to carding or dicing, or to lechery, or to other manner of wickedness, he sleepeth not, he is ever ready at hand, for he hath a thousand ways to hurt us, and to bring us to mischief; insomuch that we are not able to stand against him, when we have not God’s weapons wherewith we may strike him.

Therefore St. Paul saith, that we must fight against rulers : he describeth unto us the great power that the devil hath, for what is mightier than rulers and potentates be? Therefore to the intent that we might perceive his mighty power he named him by that name, to that end to make us earnest to put on the armours and take the weapons which God hath appointed for us, else we shall soon have an overthrow, if we will take such weapons as the devil shall appoint us, as he hath done in times past. For what a trust and confidence have we had in holy water, and holy bread? Also in ringing of holy bells, and such fooleries? But it was good sport for the devil, he could laugh and be merry at our foolishness : yea, and order the matter so, to keep us in the same error. For we read in stories, that at some times the devil went away from some men, because of the holy water, as though that holy water had such strength and power that he could not abide it. O crafty devil, he went away, not for fear of the holy water, but because he would maintain men in error and

foolishness. And no doubt it was the devil's teaching, the using of this holy water.

It was not long ago since I being with one of my neighbours that was sick, there came in an old woman, and when she saw the man sore sick, she asked whether there were no holy water to be gotten? See here the foolishness of the people, which amidst the light of God's most holy word, will follow such fantasies and delusions of the devil! Ye know when there was a storm or a fearful weather, then we rang the holy bells, they were they that must make all things well, they must drive away the devil. But I tell you, if the holy bells would serve against the devil, or that he might be put away through their sound, no doubt we would soon banish him out of all England. For I think if all the bells in England should be rung together at a certain hour, I think there would be almost no place, but some bells might be heard there. And so the devil should have no abiding place in England, if ringing of bells would serve: but it is not that that will serve against the devil; yet we have believed such fooleries in times past, but it was but mocking, it was the teaching of the devil. And no doubt we were in a miserable case when we learned of the devil to fight against the devil.

And how much are we bound to God, that he hath delivered us from these gross ignorances, and hath taught us how we should fight and prevail against his enemy. Yet it is a pitiful thing to see, that there be some amongst us which would fain have the old fooleries again; they are aweary of the word of God, they cannot away with it, they would rather have their crossings, and setting up of candles, and such fooleries, than the word of God.

I was once called to one of my kinsfolk; it was at that time when I had taken degree at Cambridge, and was made master of art: I was called, I say, to one of my kinsfolk, which was very sick, and died immediately after my coming. Now there was an old cousin of mine, which after the man was dead, gave me a wax candle in my hand, and commanded me to make certain crosses over him that was dead; for she thought the devil should run away by and by. Now I took the candle, but I could not cross him as she would have me to do, for I had never seen it afore. Now she perceiving that I could not do it,

with a great anger took the candle out of my hand, saying it is a pity that thy father spendeth so much money upon thee, and so she took the candle, and crossed and blessed him, so that he was sure enough. No doubt she thought that the devil could have no power against him.

This, and such like things, were nothing but illusions of the devil: yet for all that we put our trust so in them, that we thought we could not be saved without such things. But now let us give God most hearty thanks, that he hath delivered us from such snares and illusions of the devil; and let us endeavour ourselves most earnestly to hear God's most holy word, and to live after it. Now to the armours; here is the armour of God's teaching, for man and woman.

When a man shall go to battle, commonly he hath a great girdle with an apron of mail going upon his knees; then he hath a breast-plate: then for the nether part he hath high shoon; and then he must have a buckler, to keep off his enemy's strokes: then he must have a salette* wherewith his head may be saved; and finally, he must have a sword to fight withal, and to hurt his enemy. These are the weapons that commonly men use when they go to war: of such wise St. Paul would have us to be prepared. Therefore whosoever will go to this spiritual war, and fight against the devil, he must have such weapons, truth, justice, ready to hear God's word, faith, salvation in God's word. They that be armed in such wise, the devil can nothing do against them. As it appeared in the holy man Job, whom the devil could not tempt further than he had leave of God. Whereby we gather, that when we stand to God's armour, we shall be able to quench the assaults of this old serpent the devil.

Now the first point of this armour is truth and verity, from which truth the devil is fallen, he and all his company. For it is written, *in veritate non stetit*, "He abode not in the truth." He was in the truth, but he fell from it, he remained not in it, for with lying and falsehood, he deceived our grandmother Eve, when he desired her to eat of the forbidden fruit, affirming and most surely promising unto her and her husband Adam, that they should be gods after they had eaten of the

* In old armoury, a salut, or head-piece,

apple, which was a false lie. Therefore it is written of him, *Mendax est et ejus rei pater*, “ He is a liar, and a father of the same.” O that all liars would consider what an horrible thing it is in the face of God to tell false tales : they have cause to be weary of their estate, for the devil is their father, and they be his children. Truly it is an ill-favoured thing to be the child of the devil, for the devil giveth an ill reward to his children, everlasting perdition is their inheritance, which then they shall have of their father. *Cum mendacium loquitur ex propriis loquitur*, “ When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he himself is nothing else but falsehood.” O there be many sore sentences in scripture against liars, and false tale-tellers. David saith, “ *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium*, “ Thou shalt destroy all them that speak lies.” Therefore St. Paul exhorteth us to this truth, to leave lies, and falsehood : he saith, *Deposito mendacio veritatem loquimini quisque cum proximo suo*, “ Set aside all lies, and speak the truth every one with his neighbour.” (Ephes. iv.)

I pray God we may learn this lesson of St. Paul, and follow it, and practise it ; for no doubt we be full of lies. Consider and examine all estates, and ye shall find all their doings furnished with lies. Go first to men of occupations, consider their lives and conversations, there is in a manner nothing with them but lying. Go to men of authority, go to lawyers, you shall find stuff enough. For it is seen nowadays that children learn prettily of their parents to lie, for the parents are not ashamed to lie in presence of their children. The craftsman or merchantman teacheth his prentice to lie, and to utter his wares with lying and foreswearing. *In summa*, there is almost nothing amongst us but lies ; and therefore parents and masters are in great danger of eternal damnation, for they care not how they bring up their youth, in godliness, or otherwise ; they care not for it. Therefore I exhort you, in God’s behalf, to consider the matter, ye parents : suffer not your children to lie, or tell false tales ; when you hear one of your children to make a lie, take him up, and give him three or four good stripes, and tell him that it is naught : and when he maketh another lie, give him six or eight stripes ; and I am sure when you serve him so, he will leave it, for it is a common saying, *Vexatio dat intellectum*, “ Correction giveth

understanding." But we see nowadays, that parents rejoice when their children can make a pretty lie : they say, he will be a pretty witty fellow, he can make a pretty lie : so much is the word of God regarded amongst us.

So likewise, prentices can do nothing but lie, and the better he can lie the more is he regarded of his master, and the more acceptable, and therefore there was never such falsehood as there is now ; for the youth is so brought up in lies and falsehood. For we see daily what falsehood is abroad, how every man deceiveth his neighbour. There will no writing serve nowadays, every man worketh craftily with his neighbour.

In the old time, there were some folks not ashamed to preach in the open pulpit unto the people, how long a man should lie in purgatory. Now to defend their lies, they said it was done to a good purpose, to make the people afraid ; to beware of sin and wickedness. But what saith God by the prophet, *Nunquid eget Dominus mendatio, ut pro illo loquamini mendacium,* "Hath the Lord need of lies, that ye will go and make lies in his name?" You may perceive now how necessary a thing it is to be in the truth, to be upright in our dealings ; for St. Paul requireth truth not only in judgments, that judges shall judge according to equity and conscience, but also he requireth that we be true in all our conversations and doings, words and deeds. And so Christ himself requireth the same of us in the fifth of St. Matthew, "*Sit sermo vester, Est, est ; non, non,*" "Let your saying be, Yea, yea ; no, no." He saith two times yea, yea ; to signify unto us, that it shall be with us so, that when we say yea with our tongue, then it shall be in the heart yea too : again, when we say no with our tongue, that the heart be so too. Therefore he saith two times, yea, yea ; no, no ; to signify that the heart and mouth shall go together.

And therefore it appeareth that we be in a pitiful case, far from that that God would have us to be. For there be some that be so used to lies, that they can do nothing else ; and as the common saying is, a lie is the better when it cometh in their mouth. Well, I will shew you an ensample, which shall be enough to fear us from lying. In the primitive church, when there was but few which believed, and amongst them there was a great many of poor people, therefore they that

were rich used to sell their goods, and brought the money to the apostles, to that end that the poor might be relieved ; there was some that did such things simply and uprightly, with a good heart.

Now there was a certain man, called Ananias, and his wife called Sapphira, they were christians, but they sought nothing but worldly things, as some of us do nowadays ; they thought it should be a worldly kingdom, as there be many gospellers nowadays, which seek nothing by the gospel, but their own gains and preferments. Now this man with his wife, seeing others sell their goods, thought they would get a good name too : they went and sold their lands, yet they were afraid to bring all the money to the apostles, mistrusting lest this religion should not endure long ; therefore they thought it wisdom to keep somewhat in store, when necessity should require. Well, they go and bring a part of the money to Peter, and the other part they kept for themselves, affirming to Peter that it was the whole money. Now Peter having knowledge by the Holy Ghost of this falsehood, said unto him when he came with the money, *Cur Satan implevit cor tuum ut mentireris Spiritui Sancto ?* “ How chanced it that the devil hath filled thy heart, that thou shouldest lie unto the Holy Ghost ? was it not thy own goods ? And thou comest and sayest it is all, when it was but a part ? ” *Non hominibus,* “ Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.” What followeth ? Ananias hearing that, by and by fell down and died out of hand : so that Peter killed him with his words. After that came his wife, and told the same tale, and received like reward for her lie.

Now I pray you who hath such a flinty and stony heart, that will not be afraid to make lies ? But what meaneth it that God punisheth not lies so openly now as he did then ? Answer, That God punisheth not lies now, he doth not because he hath a delight in lies, more at this time than he had at that same time ; for he is an immutable unchangeable God. He tarrieth, and punisheth not by and by, because he would have us to repent and leave our wickedness, lies, and falsehood : if we will not repent, then he will come one day and make an end with us, and reward us according unto our deserving.

And this is commonly our nature, that when we have made one lie, we must make twenty others to defend that one.

This is now the first armour that we should have, namely, truth. St. Augustine writeth very terribly of lyings, and against those that use lying. There be some that make a difference between a jesting lie, and an earnest lie: but I tell you, it is good to abstain from them both, for God is the truth, when we forsake the truth, we forsake God.

Now the second weapon is to be just, to give every man that which we owe unto him: to the king, that which pertaineth unto him, to our landlords what we owe unto them, to our curate or parson, what pertaineth unto him, and though the curate be unlearned, and not able to do his duty, yet we may not withdraw from him of private authority, that thing which is appointed unto him by common authority. No not so, we ought to let him have his duty, but when he is naught or unapt to be in the place of a curate, then we may complain to the ordinary, and desire a better for him. So likewise between married folks there shall be justice, that is to say, they shall do their duties; the man shall love his wife, shall honour her, shall not be rigorous, but admonish her lovingly. Again, the wife shall be obedient, loving, and kind towards her husband, not provoking him to anger, with ill and naughty words. Further, the parents ought to do justice towards their children, to bring them up in godliness and virtue, to correct them when they do naught: likewise the children ought to be obedient unto their parents, and be willing to do according unto their commandment. *Item*, the masters ought to do justice unto their servants, to let them have their meat and drink, and their wages. Again, the servants ought to be diligent in their master's businesses, to do them truly, not to be eye-servants. Likewise the subjects ought to be obedient to their king and magistrate; again, the king ought to do justice, to see that justice have place. Finally, one neighbour ought to have justice with another; that is, to give him what pertaineth unto him, not to deceive him in any thing, but to love him, and to make much of him: when we do so, then are we sure we have the second part of this armour of God.

Thirdly, "we must be shod," we must have shoes; that is

to say, we must be ready to hear God's holy word, we must have good affections to hear God's word, and we must be ready to make provision for the furtherance of the preaching of God's holy word, as far forth as we be able to do. Now all these that have such lusts and desires to God's word; *item*, all those that are content to maintain the office of preaching, to find scholars to school, all these have their battling shoon, which St. Paul requireth of them.

Now when we be shod, we must have a buckler; that is, faith; and this must be a right faith a faith according unto God's word; for the Turks have their faith, so likewise the Jews have their faith. *Item*, the false christians have their faith, but they have not the right faith: not that faith of which St. Paul speaketh here, but they have a *fidem mendacium*, a false faith, a deceivable faith; for it is not grounded in God's word: therefore the right faith cannot be gotten, except by God's word. And the word worketh not, hath no commodities, except it be taken with faith. Now we may try ourselves whether we have this faith or not, if we lie in sin and wickedness, care not for God's word and his holy commandments, but live only according to our lusts and appetites, then we have not this faith: when we be slothful, when we be whoremongers, swearers, or unmerciful unto the poor, then we have not this faith, as long as we be in such customizable sins.

But if we hear God's word, believe and be content to live after it, leave our sins and iniquities, then we have that faith of which St. Paul speaketh here, then we shall be able to quench the fiery arrows of the devil.

So ye have heard what the armour of God is, namely, truth, justice, readiness to hear God's word, and faith: but this faith must not be only in our mouth, in our tongue, but it must be in our hands; that is to say, we must not only talk of the gospel, but also we must follow it in our conversations and livings.

" Now then, we must have a helmet, a salet, that is, salvation; whatsoever we do, we must consider whether it may further or let us of our salvation: when it may let thee of thy salvation, leave it, when it may further thee, then do it: So

throughout all our lives we must have a respect, whether our doings may stand with our salvation or not.

When we are now ready and armed round about, so that our enemy cannot hurt us, then we must have a sword in our hands to fight withal, and to overcome our ghostly enemy. What manner of sword is this? Marry, it is God's word; it is a spiritual sword, which all people ought to have. Here ye hear that all men and women ought to have that sword, that is the word of God, wherewith they may fight against the devil.

Now I pray you, how could the lay people have that sword, how could they fight with the devil, when all things were in Latin, so that they could not understand it? Therefore how needful it is for every man to have God's word, it appeareth here, for only with the word of God we must fight against the devil, which devil intendeth daily to do us mischief: how could now the unlearned fight against him, when all things were in Latin, so that they might not come to the understanding of God's word?

Therefore let us give God most hearty thanks that we have God's word, and let us thankfully use the same; for only with God's word we shall avoid and chase the devil, and with nothing else. Our Saviour when he was tempted, what were his weapons wherewith he fought, nothing else but God's word? When the devil tempted him he ever said, *Scriptum est*, "It is written:" When the devil would have him to cast himself down from the temple, he said unto him, *Scriptum est, non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum*, "It is written, Thou shalt not tempt thy Lord God:" that is to say, we may not put God to do that thing miraculously, when it may be done other ways.

Again, upon the mountain, when the devil would have him to worship him, he said, "It is written, Thou shalt honour thy God only:" So likewise we must have God's word to fight with the devil, and to withstand his temptations and assaults; as when the devil moveth me to commit adultery, I must fight against him with the word of God: "It is written, Thou shalt not commit adultery:" Thou devil, thou shalt not be able to bring me unto it, to do against my Lord God. So likewise, when the devil moveth me to make lies; I must confound him

with God's word. St. Paul saith, *Veritatem loquimini quisque cum proximo suo*, " Speak the truth every one to his neighbour."

As there is a common saying amongst us, " Say the truth and shame the devil :" so every one, man and woman, must fight against the devil. But we preachers, we have a greater and higher degree, we are magistrates, we have the spiritual sword of God, in a higher degree than the common people ; we must rebuke other men, and spare no man : our office is, to teach every man the way to heaven : and whosoever will not follow, but liveth still in sin and wickedness, him ought we to strike, and not to spare. Like as St. John Baptist did, when he said to the great and proud king Herod ; *Non licet tibi*, " Sir, it becometh not thee to do so." So we preachers, must use God's word to the correction of other men's sins ; we may not be flatterers or clawbacks : other people that have not this vocation, may exhort every one his neighbour, to leave sins ; but we have the sword, we are authorized to strike them with God's word.

Now the last part of this armour is prayer ; and I warrant you it is not left out, for it is the Christian man's special weapon, wherewith to strike the devil, and vanquish his assaults : And if we be weak and feel ourselves not able to withstand our enemy, we must fall to prayer, which is a sure remedy, to desire God to help for his own sake, and for Christ's sake, for his promise sake ; for he were not God, if he should not keep his promises ; therefore Christ commandeth us to pray always when we have need ; and no doubt there is never a time but we have need, either for ourselves, or else for our neighbours ; therefore to pray, we have need, and we shall overcome the devil with faithful prayer. For prayer is the principal weapon wherewith we must fight against the devil.

I speake of faithful prayer, for in times past we took babbling babbling for prayer, when it was nothing less ; and therefore St. Paul addeth, " In spirit." We must pray in spirit, with a penitent heart : for there is no man that hath an ill conscience that doth pray in spirit, he that is a whoremonger, or a swearer, a carder, or dicer, a drunkard, or such like, that prayeth, his prayer hath no effect ; as long as he is in purpose of sin he cannot pray ; when he cannot pray, then he is unarmed ; he

hath not these weapons of which St. Paul speakeith here: but he that hath a penitent heart to leave his sins and wickedness, that same is he whose prayers shall be heard. And when we pray, we may not do it waveringly or rashly, without consideration, our mouth speaking, and the heart being occupied with other matters; we may not do so, we must pray with great earnestness and ferventness.

At the last when he hath set out the properties of prayers, then he saith "for all saints." Here ye may consider, that when we know not scripture, how blind we be, and have been in times past. For we thought only those to be saints and holy, that be gone out of this world, but it is not so: all they that believe in our Saviour Christ, that call upon his name, and look to be saved by him, those same be God's saints. All faithful Christ's people that believe in him are saints and holy.

Now when he hath done, and set out all his mind, at last he cometh and desireth them to pray for him: But for what? Not to get a fat benefice or a bishopric. No, no; St. Paul was not a hunter of benefices; he saith, "pray that I may have utterance and boldness to speak." And this was requisite to his office: for though a preacher be well learned, but yet lacketh that boldness, is faint-hearted, truly he shall do but little good for all his learning; when he feareth men more than God, he is nothing to be regarded.

Therefore this is the thing that St. Paul so much desireth, to have boldness to speak: for when a preacher's mouth is stopped, so that he dare not rebuke sin and wickedness, no doubt he is not meet for his office. Now, like as St. Paul required the Ephesians to pray for him, that he may have utterance, for this was most necessary for his office: so let every one pray unto God, and desire others to pray for him, that he may do the works of his vocation. As for an example, when he is a married man, let him pray unto God that he may love his wife, cherish her, honour and bear with her infirmities. So likewise, let all the faithful servants call upon God, that they may do the duty of their vocation. So likewise let magistrates be fervent in prayer, for no doubt they have need; for they have a great charge committed unto them of God: therefore they have the more need of the help of God. Yea, let every good subject pray unto God for the magistrates,

that they may do their duties according unto God's will and commandment. And no doubt this is a good prayer, when one faithful man prayeth for the other, such prayer shall not be in vain, God will hear it, and grant such faithful prayers.

There be many men in the world which think that prayer is will-work ; so that they may do it, or omit it : but it is not so, they be much deceived. For it is as necessary for me when I am in tribulation to call upon God, and I ought to do it as well under the pain of damnation, as well as I am bound to keep any of his commandments. By the virtue of this commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," I may not take away other men's goods : so by this commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," I may not defile another man's wife : So by the virtue of this commandment, *Invoca me in die tribulationis*, "Call upon me in the time of trouble ;" I ought and am bound, under the pain of damnation, to resort unto God, to call upon him, to seek aid and help by him, at his hands. For this is as well God's commandment as the other is: therefore I desire you most earnestly, set not light by prayer ; remember that it is the commandment of God. And again, it is the only stay, *Ultimam refugium*, "The only help to come to God," and desire his help in Christ's name. For by prayer, Peter being in prison was delivered. Likewise Moses, by the efficacy of his prayer, went through the Red Sea, he and all his people. So was Hezekiah the king delivered from his sickness by his prayer.

Item, Elias the prophet stopped the rain a long time, and then by prayers he brought rain again. If I should go through all the stories which shew us the efficacy of prayers, I should never have done, for no doubt faithful prayer faileth never, it hath ever remedied all matters. For it brought to pass, that when God would destroy the Israelites, he could not, because of Moses's prayers ; Moses letted God of his purpose. And no doubt God loveth to be letted, for God loveth not to punish or destroy the people ; and therefore by a prophet God complained that there was not found a good man, *Qui ponere se tanquam murus*, "Which might set himself like as a strong wall before the people :" that is to say, which were so earnest in prayer, that God could not punish the people.

Now ye have heard how that prayer is a commandment, we

shall in every distress pray unto God, saying, “Lord God, thou art merciful, thou knowest my weakness, which hast promised to help: therefore, for thy Son’s sake, for thy mercies’ sake, for thy goodness’ sake, for thy truth’s sake, help me and deliver me out of my distress, forgive me my sins.” Surely, whosoever prayeth so instantly, he shall be heard: but *oportet semper orare*, “We must pray at all times,” without intermission, when we go to bed, when we rise in the morning, when we go about our business, or when we are on horseback, ever pray: for a short prayer is able to bring a great thing to pass, as it appeared in the publican, which said only, *Propitius esto mihi peccatori*, “Lord, be merciful to me a sinner.” Therefore Christ saith, *Vigilate et orate ne intretis in temptationem*, “Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation;” that is, lest you be overcome with it.

Now remember what I have said unto you, consider what an enemy we have, what power he hath, what experience and practice: Again, how weak he is when Christ is with us: remember the armour; namely, truth, justice, love to the hearing of God’s word, faith and salvation; ever consider whether your doings be to the let of your salvation or not. Remember the sword, though ye have it not in so high a degree as we have it, which may strike kings and emperors, when they transgress the word of God, as it appeared in Elias, which struck the king Ahab.

Item, John Baptist struck that sturdy king Herod; if they had been faint-hearted, they should not have done so. But specially I would have you to remember prayer, when ye be in any anguish and trouble, and cannot tell how to relieve yourselves, run to God.

Now they that shall and will regard that armour of God, taught us by the apostle St. Paul, the devil no doubt shall not prevail against them. Therefore if we would put on this armour, we should come to such a practice of it, that the devil should be afraid to come at us; yea, and when he cometh, he shall soon be cast off and avoided. The Almighty God, which ruleth heaven and earth with his infinite power, give us such strength, that we may be able to vanquish the devil, and all his might. *Amen.*

THE
FOURTH SERMON
OF
MASTER DOCTOR LATIMER,
PREACHED ON
THE TWENTY-THIRD SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY, 1552.

PHILIPPIANS iii. 17, 18.

Brethren, be followers together of me, and look on them which walk even so as ye have us for an ensample: For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ.

THIS is the epistle which is read this day in the church, and containeth many good things. And this day two year, I entreated of the Gospel of this day, at Stamford: and such matters as I had in hand, were gathered of a diligent person and put in print. The Gospel was this, Give unto Cæsar that thing that pertaineth unto Cæsar; and unto God that thing that pertaineth unto God." I will rehearse in few words that which I said at the same time.

The Pharisees and Scribes asked Christ our Saviour, whether they should give tribute unto Cæsar or not; for it irked them that they should pay tribute, they thought it to be a great servitude: but they asked Christ this question of a mischievous mind, intending to take him in his words; but he disappointed them prettily, asking whose image the money bare? They answered, The emperor's. Then our Saviour saith, " Give therefore unto the emperor that that pertaineth unto him, and unto God that which pertaineth unto God." They spake nothing of God, but only of the tribute, but our Saviour in his answer telleth them, and all the world their duties: yet he doth it with dark and covered words. They confessed that the image was the emperor's, and so consequently subject unto him; then our Saviour commanded them to pay according unto the order, as the emperor had agreed

with them, that it was their duty to do. Our Saviour he referred them to their laws, signifying that they ought to obey the laws in their commonwealth ; and so ought we to do too : for our Saviour in his answer teacheth not only them, but us also ; for like as it was with the Jews, so is it with us here in England.

Our sovereign lord the king, when he lacketh any thing to the defence of his realm, it is presented in the parliament ; there is required such things as be necessary for the king's affairs. Now look whatsoever is granted unto his majesty by the parliament, the whole realm is bound in conscience to pay it, every man as it is required of him : and that is our due unto the king ; namely, to give, and do our duties in all things towards our sovereign lord the king ; as far forth as it is not against God, we must obey him ; and do his requests.

But now ye will say, this is a great bondage, and a heavy yoke and servitude. Consider therefore who speaketh these words, who is he that commanded us to be obedient ? Marry, our Saviour himself. Now he saith, *Meum jugum leve est,* “ My yoke is light :” how chanced it then that he will lay upon me such a heavy burthen ; for it is a great burthen for me to forego my goods ; as when there is a subsidy, so that the king requireth one shilling of every pound. Now I am worth forty pound, and so I pay forty shillings ; to which money the king hath as good right, as to any inheritance which his majesty hath.

And this I speak to this end, for I fear this realm be full of thieves ; for he is a thief that withdraweth any thing from any man, whosoever he be. Now I put the case it is allowed by the parliament, by common authority, that the king shall have one shilling of every pound, and there be certain men appointed in every shire which be valuers ; when I now either corrupt the valuer, or swear against my conscience, that I am not worth an hundred pounds when I am worth two hundred ; here I am a thief before God, and shall be hanged for it in hell. Now, how many thieves think ye are there in England, which will not be valued above ten pound when they be worth a hundred pound ? but this is a pitiful thing, and God will punish them one day ; for God's matters are not to be trifled withal.

Now ye will say, this is a heavy yoke, and intolerable to bear. Sirs, I will tell ye what ye shall do; Consider every one with himself what Christ hath done for us; from what great and intolerable burthen he hath delivered us; when ye consider that, this burthen which the king layeth upon us, will be light enough unto us: for Christ hath delivered us from the burthen of our sins: when we consider that, first, who is he that commandeth it unto us; secondarily, what he hath done for us that biddeth us to obey, no doubt we shall be well content withal. But there be a great many of us which consider not that, but rather deceive the king, or forswear themselves, or else rebel against the king; which things, no doubt, displease God most highly and grievously. Another thing is, that should move us to bear this burthen willingly, which is, his promise. For whosoever will be content to pay his duty truly and uprightly, as he ought to do, that man shall have never the less in fulfilling the commandment of God. For so saith God; “ If thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord, thou shalt be blessed in the town, and blessed in the fields,” &c. (Deut. xxviii.) So that if we do according as he willeth us to do, if we give unto the king that which pertaineth unto the king, no doubt we shall be blessed, we shall have never the less, for God’s blessing will light upon us. But there be a great many amongst us, which do not believe those things to be true, they believe not the promises of God; and so they make God a liar: for *Qui non credit Deo facit Deum mendacem*, “ He that believeth not God, maketh God a liar.” Now if this will not move us to do our duties, namely, that Christ hath delivered us from the great burthen of our sins, let us be moved at leastways with his promises; namely, that we shall increase our goods in doing our duties unto the king.

This little I thought good to say, and so to put you in remembrance of such things as I have said at that time, for if this were well considered, we would be willing to do our duties, and so please God withal: for God loveth a cheerful obeyer, one that with a good-will is ready to do such things as he appointeth him.

Now let us turn to the Epistle; “ Brethren, be followers together of me, and look on them that walk, even so as ye

have us for an ensample." These are marvellous works of St. Paul; which seem outwardly to be arrogantly spoken: if any man should say so at this time, we would think him to be a very arrogant fellow. But ye must see that ye right understand Saint Paul, for he spake these words not of an arrogant mind: first, ye must consider with whom he had to do, namely, with false apostles, which did corrupt God's most holy word, the gospel, which he had preached before. And so the same false prophets did much harm, for a great number of people did credit them, and followed their doctrine: which things grieved St. Paul very sore, therefore he admonished them, as who say, "Ye have preachers amongst you, I would not have you to follow them; follow rather me, and them that walk like as I do." This was not arrogantly spoken, but rather lovingly to keep them from error. He saith the same to the Corinthians, in the eleventh chapter, saying, "Be ye the followers of me;" but there he addeth, "As I am the follower of Christ:" so put the same words hither, set them together, and then all is well. For I tell you it is a dangerous thing to follow men, and we are not bound to follow them, further than they follow Christ: we ought not to live after any saint, nor after St. Paul, or Peter, nor after Mary the mother of Christ, to follow them, I say, universally we are not bound so to do, for they did many things amiss. Therefore let us follow them as they follow Christ; for our Saviour Christ giveth us a general rule and warning, saying, "Whatsoever they teach you, do it; but after their works do ye not;" and he addeth, "Sitting in Moses's chair," that is to say, when they teach the truth: so that we ought to follow them that teach the truth, but when they do naught we should not follow them: therefore he saith in another place, *Nisi abundaverit vestra justitia*, "Except your righteousness be more than the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

This he speaketh of the clergymen, giving us warning not to do as they did; we must have such a righteousness as may stand before God; we are not appointed to follow saints; as when I hear this saint hath prayed so many psalms, so many hours in a day, I am not bound in conscience to follow him, to be his ape, and to do as he did, my vocation being contrary unto it.

There is a place in the second book of Maccabees, the twelfth chapter, where we read how that Judas Maccabeus, that hearty captain, sendeth certain money to Jerusalem, to make a sacrifice for the dead. Now Judas did this; but it followeth not, that we are bound in conscience to do the like, as the papists which, by and by, conclude upon it: "Judas did this, and he was a godly man, therefore we should do it too, we should follow his ensample, and sacrifice for the dead." *Nego argumentum*, "It is a naughty argument," to conclude upon that thing which he did devoutly, having not God's word; he did it, *ergo*, it was well done: for we are not bound to follow them in their doings. For if Mary the mother of Christ, should have done somewhat disagreeing from God's word, we should not follow her, which indeed hath had her fault, as St. Augustine plainly affirmeth in the third treatise upon John; where she moved Christ to do a miracle when their wine was lacking at the marriage; when our Saviour called her, *Mulier*, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" As who should say, To do miracles is my Father's work, and he knoweth the time when it is best to be done; what have you to do with it? Where Chrysostom and Augustine plainly affirm, that Mary was somewhat arrogant: so likewise it appeared in the evangelist Matthew, where she, interrupting his sermon, desired to speak with him; and a fellow told him when he was teaching the people, saying, "Thy mother is here, and would speak with thee; he answered and said, Who is my mother, or sister, or brother?" And stretched out his hand, saying, "Whosoever doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, he is my mother, sister, and brother." So likewise, when he was but twelve years of age, his mother and father seeking him, he said, *Nescitis*, "Know ye not that I must be in the business of my Father?" Now, in all these places, as the writers say, *Passa est humanum*, "She hath shewed her frail nature:" Shall we go now and follow her? No, no, we may not do so. St. Paul teacueth us how we shall follow them, and in what things: *Bonum est emulari in bono semper*, "It is good always to be fervent, and to follow in good things:" (Gal. iv.) then it is not such a good argument, such a man doth it, *ergo*, it is a good thing. No, not so; we must follow so, and do so all things, as it may stand with our vocation, whereunto God hath called us: for when we leave our vocation whereunto God hath ap-

pointed us, no doubt, we do naught and damnable : as for an ensample.

Our Saviour fasted forty days and forty nights without any manner of sustenance, *ergo*, we shall do so too : no, because we are not able to do so too, we should kill ourselves. Likewise Moses, that holy prophet of God, killed an Egyptian, which was a wicked and naughty man ; *ergo*, shall go I and kill yonder wicked man too : no, I may not do so, for it is against my calling ; I am no magistrate, therefore I may not do it. As for Moses, he had a special inspiration of God. Phineas, that godly man, killed Zimri and Cozbi, which were occupied together in the act of fornication : Phineas that zealous man came and killed them both at once, which his doing pleased God very well.

Now ye may make such an argument, Phineas did so, and pleased God in his doings, *ergo*, we may do so too : when we see any man dishonour God, we may go and kill him by and by. This is not a good argument, for as I said before, we must take heed to our calling, to our office. This Phineas had a special license to do so ; we may not follow his ensample.

Abraham was a good and holy man, he was ready to kill his son, and burn him with fire ; which doings pleased God wondrous well : afterward, there were many which would follow the ensample of Abraham, and burnt their children ; but they did exceeding ill, and God was angry with them for so doing : therefore we must follow their ensample only so far forth as may stand with our vocation.

Further, Joseph and Mary they were married folk, but they exercised not the act of generation : if we would now follow the ensample of Mary and Joseph, and inhibit unto married folks the act of generation, this were naught, and against the order of God : for Mary and Joseph had a special calling, and gift of God to abstain : but if we, having no such calling, or such gifts as they have had, should follow their ensample, we should go to the devil at the length, for not doing according unto our calling.

So it appeareth partly that we are not bound to follow the conversations or doings of the saints. Jacob, David, Solomon, and other good and holy men, have had many wives ; *ergo*, we may have many too ? Not so ; they had a special license and prerogative, which we have not. Therefore take this for a sure rule, we have not to follow the saints in their vocation, but we

must follow God in our vocation: for like as they followed God in their vocation and calling, so we must follow God in our vocation: but when we will go about to follow God in their calling, and forsake our own calling, then no doubt we shall do naught. This I have said, to that end that ye might understand the words of St. Paul, where he saith, " Be followers of me;" therefore I shewed you how far forth we ought to follow the ensample of the saints.

" For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ." St. Paul speaketh of the false prophets; he saith, " They walk :" by this word walk, is signified our conversation and living; for when we will signify any man to live wickedly, we may express it with these words; he walketh wickedly. Now if there were many in St. Paul's time which did walk wickedly, think ye is the matter any thing amended now at our time? I think, not at all: For we read in the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, that Satan shall be loose in the last days; that is to say, God will suffer him to exercise his crafts, his blasphemous wicked mind, which he beareth against God: and truly when a man considereth the state of the whole world in every country, it appeareth no less but that the devil is loose: for, what rebellions, what cruelties, what covetousness, what hatred and malice is amongst men! Insomuch that a man would think the whole world to be full of devils. Therefore when there were many at St. Paul's time, it must needs follow that there be more now: for now is the defection and swerving from the truth.

" Of which I have told you often, and now tell you weeping." St. Paul was a good man, a hearty and an earnest man in God's cause; he was a weeper, he went a pilgrimage whereof I told you the last time: it was a grief to him to see the dishonour of God amongst them which he had instructed in the word of God; he was sorry to see the people blinded and seduced with false doctrine: but such things grieve not us; though God be dishonoured, we care not for it: but when we have loss of our goods; and sustain certain damages, then we can weep from the bottom of our hearts, and be most sorrowful: but when we hear that God is dishonoured, that lechery is committed, or other horrible sins done: that grieveth us not, then we weep

not : and so it appeareth most manifestly, that we have not the heart of St. Paul, we are not so minded.

Now peradventure somebody might say, that St. Paul had slandered these men in writing so sharply against them, and in calling them "the enemies of the cross of Christ ;" but it is not so, he slandereth them not. In the epistle to Timothy he named some by their names, Philetus and Hymenæus. You must consider, that St. Paul did well in reproving them openly, for a man may sometimes tell another man's faults, for not every telling is slandering. When a man telleth another man's faults with a good mind, and to a good purpose, this telling is well : but that is naught, and very slandering, when I rehearse before other men the faults of my neighbour, with a malicious stomach : I hate him, and therefore I make him to be known ; I paint him in his colours, and sometimes I say more by him than I am able to prove ; this is slandering ; but when a man telleth another man's faults with a good mind, to his reformation, that is not slandering.

As we read a story of St. Bernard, whether it be true or not, it is no matter ; take it for an ensample, and learn thereby what is slander, and what is not. St. Bernard was a goodly upright young man, and well favoured, he came at a time with his company to an inn, where he tarried all night. And because he was a fair man, the woman in the house cast her eyes upon him, desiring in her heart to have carnal company with him ; and therefore after supper she appointed a chamber for him alone, to that end that she might come unto him afterward ; and so she did : for when every body was at rest, she came unto his bed, intending to lie with him. St. Bernard perceiving that, cried out with a loud voice, *Fures, Fures, "Thieves, Thieves!"* His fellows hearing him crying, came to him, asking what the matter was ; he told them that there was a thief there : now they thought he had dreamed, and went to bed again : as soon as they were gone, by and by the woman came again, then he cried again. So in the morning, St. Bernard would not tarry long in that house ; and as they were in the way he told his fellows how that the woman had come unto him, desiring them to take heed another time of that woman, for she was a naughty woman ; she would have stolen from him the Holy Ghost, the remission of his sins,

and all goodness; for if he should have followed her, she would have robbed him of all these things. Of such a fashion we may tell other men's faults.

For St. Bernard told it to that end, to give them warning to take heed of that woman. Now this was not slandering: and so likewise St. Paul here slandereth them not, but sets them out in their colours, to admonish us to beware of them, and so we ought to do, when we know a man that is wicked and will not leave his wickedness after due admonitions: no doubt it is a good thing to give unto other men warning of such a man, that they may take heed of him: as for an example; there be a company of thieves sworn together to be true one to the other, and not to disclose one another. Now I am amongst them, and after some mischief done, I am taken and condemned by the law to be hanged. Shall I not disclose now my company, and give unto the magistrates warning of them? Yes, I would think that man that is in such a case, doth well to disclose his company, for it pertaineth to a good end, and is a charitable deed, else his company may do much harm afore they are known. No doubt that man should do well, and I think he ought to do it. And I would God that all thieves in England were so persuaded in their hearts, that when one were taken, that he should disclose his fellows too; no doubt we should have better rest, thieves would not so much trouble the commonwealth as they do.

“ Weeping;” it grieved St. Paul very sore, that christian souls should so be seduced through false religion. I would wish that there were such a fervent zeal now in us, as was in him then; but it is not so, we have no care for the souls of christian people. And that appeareth most manifestly by those unpreaching prelates, for if they had such an earnest mind to the flock of Christ, as St. Paul had, no doubt they would not be so lordly, so slothful in doing of their duties; but they lack such an earnest zeal as St. Paul had, such an earnest zeal they lack.

“ They are the enemies of the cross of Christ.” A man may be an enemy of the cross of Christ two manner of ways. All the Papists in England, and specially the spiritual men, be the enemies of the cross of Christ two manner of ways.

First, when he is a right Papist, given to mockery, I

warrant you he is in this opinion, that with his own works he doth merit remission of his sins ; and satisfieth the law through and by his own works ; and so thinketh himself to be saved everlastingily. This is the opinion of all Papists. And this doctrine was taught in times past in schools and in the pulpits. Now all these that be in such an opinion, they be the enemies of the cross of Christ, of his passion and bloodshedding : for they think in themselves Christ needed not to die, and so they despise his bitter passion, they do not consider our birth-sin, and the corruption of our nature, nor yet do they know the quantity of our actual sins, how many times we fall in sins, or how much our own power is diminished, nor what might and power the devil hath : they consider not such things ; but think themselves able with their own works to enter into the kingdom of God. And therefore I tell you; this is the most perilous doctrine that can be devised. For all faithful and true christians believe only in his death ; they long to be saved through his passion and bloodshedding, this is all their comfort : they know, and most stedfastly believe that Christ fulfilled the law : and that his fulfilling is theirs ; so that they attribute unto Christ the getting and meriting of everlasting life. And so it followeth that they which attribute the remission of sins, the getting of everlasting life unto themselves, or their works, they deny Christ, they blasphemē and despise him. For, for what other cause did Christ come, but only to take away our sins by his passion, and so deliver us from the power of the devil ? But these merit-mongers have so many good works, that they be able to sell them for money ; and so to bring other men to heaven too by their good works ; which, no doubt, is the greatest contempt of the passion of Christ that can be devised. For Christ only, and no man else, merited remission, justification, and eternal felicity for as many as will believe the same ; they that will not believe it, shall not have it : for it is no more but believe and have. For Christ shed as much blood for Judas, as he did for Peter : Peter believed it, and therefore he was saved ; Judas would not believe, and therefore he was condemned ; the fault being in him only, in no body else. But to say or to believe that we should be saved by the law, this is a great dishonouring of Christ's passion ; for the law serveth to another purpose, it

bringeth us to the knowledge of our sins, and so to Christ : for when we be come through the law to the knowledge of our sins, when we perceive our filthiness, then we be ready to come to Christ, and fetch remission of our sins at his hands.

But the papists fetch the remission of their sins, not in the passion of Christ, but in their own doings ; they think to come to heaven by their own works ; which is naught. We must do good works, we must endeavour ourselves to live according to the commandments of God ; yet, for all that, we must not trust in our doings. For though we do the uttermost, yet is it all unperfect, when ye examine them by the rigour of the law, which law serveth to bring us to the knowledge of our sins, and so to Christ ; and by Christ we shall come to the quietness of our conscience. But to trust in our good works, is nothing but a robbing of Christ of his glory and majesty. Therefore it is not more necessary to do good works, than it is to beware how to esteem them. Therefore take heed, good christian people, deny not Christ, put not your hope in your own doings, for if you do ye shall repent.

Another denying of Christ is this mass-monging ; for all those that be mass-mongers be deniers of Christ ; which believe or trust in the sacrifice of the mass, and seek remission of their sins therin : for this opinion hath done very much harm, and brought innumerable souls to the pit of hell ; for they believed the mass to be a sacrifice for the dead and living ; and this opinion hath gotten all these abbies and chantries, almost the half part of all England ; and they should have gotten more if they had not been restrained by certain laws. For what would folks not do to ease themselves from the burthen of their sins ? But it was a false easement, a deceitful thing : therefore how much are we bound unto God which hath delivered us from this bondage, from this heavy yoke of popery, which would have thrust us to everlasting damnation. For now we know the very way how we shall be delivered, we know that Christ is offered once for us, and that this one offering remedieith all the sins of the whole world ; for he was *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi*, he was “ The lamb which was killed from the beginning of the world : ” (Apoc. xiii.) that is to say, all they that believed in him since Adam was created, they were saved by him. They that believed in Abraham’s seed, it

was as good unto them, and stood them in as good effect, as it doth unto us now at this day. So that his oblation is of such efficacy, that it purifieth and taketh away all the sins of the whole world. They now that will be content to leave their sinful life, wrestle with sin, and believe in our Saviour Christ, they shall be partakers of everlasting felicity.

Here ye may perceive that Christ hath many enemies in the whole world; he hath many that slander him, that diminish his glory: namely, all the papists that trust in their own merits, or seek remission of their sins by the sacrifice of the mass: all these now are enemies to the cross of Christ. *In summa*, all those that seek remission of their sins other ways than in the passion of Christ, they be traitors to God, and shall be damned world without end, unless they repent.

But here I must say some things unto you, and I speak it to the satisfying of some of you: for I think there be many which will reason very sore, they think it to be no matter though the curate be erroneous and naught in his doctrine; they care not for that: for they will say, "I will hear him, and do according as he commandeth unto me to do; when he teacheth false doctrine, and leadeth me the wrong way, he shall make answer for me before God: his false doctrine shall do me no harm, though I follow the same."

This is a naughty reason, and contrary to Christ our Saviour's doctrine; for so he saith, "If the blind lead the blind, they shall fall both into the pit." Mark here, he saith not the leader shall fall into the pit, but they shall fall both, the leader and he that is led, the blind curate and his blind parishioners: and so it was at St. Paul's time, not only the leaders, the false teachers, went to the devil, but also they that followed their false doctrine. And therefore St. Paul is so earnest in admonishing them to beware and take heed to themselves; yea, with weeping eyes he desireth them to refuse the false prophets.

So likewise God himself giveth us warning in the third chapter of the Prophet Ezekiel; saying, "If I say unto thee concerning the ungodly man, that (without doubt) he must die, and thou givest not him warning, nor speakest unto him, that he may turn from his evil way, and so to live: then shall the same ungodly man die in his unrighteousness;

but his blood will I require of thy hands." Again, in the thirty-third chapter he saith; " When I send a sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their country, and set him to be their watchman: the same man, when he seeth the sword come upon the land, shall blow the trumpet, and warn the people: If a man now hear the noise of the trumpet, and will not be warned, and the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head: for he heard the sound of the trumpet, and would not take heed: therefore his blood be upon him: but if he will receive warning, he shall save his life. Again, If the watchman seeth the sword come, and shew it not with the trumpet, then the people be not warned: If the sword come then, and take any man from amongst them, the same shall be taken away in his own sin: but his blood will I require of the watchman's hands."

In these places of scripture it appeareth most manifestly, that not only the naughty curate shall go to the devil, but also all those that follow his naughty doctrine. The wicked shall die in his wickedness: for though God do require the blood of the parishioners at the curate's hands, yet for all that they shall be damned in the mean season.

But I pray you be not offended with me, when I tell you one thing many times; for I do it to that end that ye might perceive what danger it is to have an ill curate: this maketh me to put you many times in remembrance of it.

I will tell you now a pretty story of a friar, to refresh you withal: A limitour of the gray friars, in the time of his limitation, preached many times, and had but one sermon at all times: which sermon was of the ten commandments. And because the friar had preached this sermon so often, one that heard it before, told the friar's servant that his master was called, " Friar John ten commandments." Wherefore the servant shewed the friar his master thereof, and advised him to preach of some other matters; for it grieved the servant to hear his master derided. Now the friar made answer, saying, Belike then thou canst say the ten commandments well, seeing thou hast heard them so many a time: yes, said the servant, I warrant you. Let me hear them, saith the master: then

he began, "Pride, Covetousness, Lechery," and so numbered the deadly sins for the ten commandments.

And so there be many at this time, which be weary of the old gospel, they would fain hear some new things; they think themselves so perfect in the old, when they be no more skilful than this servant was in his ten commandments.

Therefore, I say, be not offended with me, when I tell you one thing two or three times. And specially mark this well, that the parishioners are not excused before God, by the wickedness and blindness of the priest. For God saith not, "I will require the blood of the people at the curate's hand, and the people shall be without blame :" No, not so. "But the wicked shall perish because of his wickedness ;" so that the blind people and the blind curate shall go to hell together. I would wish that all England were persuaded so, for the most part of the people think themselves to be excused by their curates. But it is not so, for if there be any man wicked because his curate teacheth him not, his blood shall be required at the curate's hands : yet for all that the parishioner shall go to the devil withal ; that shall be his end.

Therefore beware of that opinion ; think not to be excused by your curate ; for when ye do, ye do not well, and so you shall repent in the end. St. Paul therefore is so diligent to give us warning of the false prophets, lest we should be deceived by them. In another place St. Paul compareth their doctrine unto a sickness, which is called a cancer ; which sickness, when she once beginneth at a place of the body, except it be withstood, will run over the whole body, and so at length kill : so it is with this false doctrine.

Now I must answer unto you to an objection, or doubt, that peradventure some of you may have ; you will think when ye hear what is the nature of false doctrine, ye will think, I say, "Alas ! what is done with our grandfathers ? no doubt they are lost everlastinglly, if this doctrine be true ; for, after your saying, they have had the false doctrine, therefore they be damned ; for the nature of false doctrine is to condemn." Such doubts some will make, yea, and there be some which in no wise will receive the gospel, and that only for this opinion's sake ; for they think that when they should receive

the Gospel, it were inasmuch as to think their forefathers be damned.

Now to this objection, or doubtfulness, I will make you answer: It is with the false doctrine like as it is with fire; the nature of fire is to burn and consume all that which is laid in the fire that may be burned. So the nature of false doctrine is to condemn, to bring to everlasting damnation; that is the nature of the false doctrine. But yet for all that, though the nature of the fire be to burn and consume all things, yet there hath been manythings in the fire which have not been burned nor consumed, as the bush which appeared unto Moses, burned in the fire, and yet was not consumed. What was the cause? Marry, God's power.

We read also in the third chapter of Daniel, how that Nebuchadnezzar, the king, caused a golden image to be made, and so called all his lords and his people to come and worship his idol, which he had set up; threatening further, "that whosoever would not fall down and worship the said idol, should be cast in a hot oven."

Now there were three young men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, which refused to worship the said idol; saying, "O Nebuchadnezzar, we ought not to consent unto thee in this matter, for why? Our God whom we serve is able to keep us from the hot burning oven, and can right well deliver us out of thy hands; and though he will not, yet shalt thou know that we will not serve thy gods, nor do any reverence to that image which thou hast set up. Then was Nebuchadnezzar exceeding full of indignation against them, and commanded by and by that the oven should be made seven times hotter than it was wont to be, and spake unto the strongest men that were in his host, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and cast them in the burning oven. So these men were bound in their coats, hosen, shoes, with their other garments, and cast into an hot burning oven: for the king's commandment was so strait, and the oven was exceeding hot, that these three men Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego fell down in the hot burning oven, being fast bound. Then Nebuchadnezzar the king marvelled, and stood up in all haste, and spake unto his council, saying, Did ye not cast these three men into the

fire? They answered, saying, "Yea, O king :" He answered and said, "Lo, for all that, I do see four men going loose in the midst of the fire, and nothing corrupt ; and the fourth is like the Son of God to look upon."

Here in this story you see, that though the nature of the fire is to consume, yet these three men were not consumed with the same ; for not a hair of their heads perished, but rather the fire brake out and consumed them that put them in the oven : so the fire of its nature would have consumed them, yet, through the power of God, the strength of the fire was vanquished, and the men were preserved from it. Even so is it with the popery, with the false doctrine, the nature of it is to consume, to corrupt and bring to everlasting sorrow ; yet let us hope that our forefathers were not damned, for God hath many ways to preserve them from perishing ; yea, in the last hour of death God can work with his Holy Ghost, and teach them to know Christ his Son for their Saviour, though they were taught other ways before, yet God can preserve them from the poison of the false doctrine. I will shew you a notable story done in king Ahab's time, written in the third book of the Kings, the eighteenth chapter.

At the time when Ahab, that wicked king, and his wife Jezebel, more wicked than her husband, when they had the rule, they abolished the word of God clean, and set up false doctrine ; killed the true prophets of God ; insomuch that Elias saith unto God, with crying and great lamentations, saying, "Lord, the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, broken down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword : And I only am left, and they seek my life to take it away." Here it appeareth that the pulpits at that time were occupied with false teachers, with false religion, like as it was in the time of our forefathers : insomuch that Elias crieth out and saith plainly, that there were left no more but he only. But what saith God? "I have left me seven thousand which have not bowed their knees unto Baal." When Elias thought that there was left no more but he only, then God shewed him a great many which were left, and not infected with the poison of the false doctrine. Therefore like as God could preserve a great number of the Israelites at the same time, so he could preserve our forefathers from the

poison of popery, which was taught at that time ; “ for the Lord knoweth which are his.” *Item*, Christ himself saith, *Quos mihi dedit Pater*, “ No man shall take those from me which my Father hath given to me,” (John vi.) that is to say, which are ordained to everlasting life.

Non repellent Dominus plebem suam et haereditatem suam non relinquet, “ The Lord will not cast away his people, and his inheritance he will not forsake,” (Psal. xciv.) Therefore let us hope that though the doctrine at that time was false and poisoned, yet for all that God hath had his : he hath had seven thousand, that is to say, a great number amongst them which took no harm by the false doctrine: for he wonderfully preserved them, like as he did in the great dearth, when all things were so dear, when the rich franklings would not sell their corn in the markets, then, at that time, the poor was wonderfully preserved of God, for after man’s reason they could not live, yet God preserved them, insomuch that their children were as fat and as well liking, as if they had been gentlemen’s children. So, like as God could preserve the poor with his children in that great dearth, so he could preserve our forefathers from everlasting perdition; though they lacked the food of their souls, yet he could feed them inwardly with the Holy Ghost.

But now ye will say, seeing then that God can save men, and bring them to everlasting life, without the outward hearing of the word of God, then we have no need to hear the word of God, we need not to have preachers amongst us. For like as he hath preserved them, so he will preserve us too, without the hearing of God’s word.

This is a foolish reason; I will answer you this. I will make you this argument, God can and is able to preserve things from fire, so that they shall not burn or consume; and therefore I will go and set my house a fire, and it shall be preserved. Or this, God preserved these three men from fire, so that they took no harm; *ergo*, I will go and cast myself into the fire, and I shall take no harm: is this now a good reason? No, no; for these three men had their vocation to go in the fire, they were cast in by violence: so if God will have thee to go into the fire by violence for his word’s sake, then go with a good will, and no doubt either he will

preserve thee as he did them, or else he will take thee out of this miserable life, to everlasting felicity ; but to cast myself into the fire without any calling, I may not ; for it is written, *Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum*, “ Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.”

So likewise in our time, God hath sent light into the world ; he hath opened the gates of heaven unto us by his word ; which word be opened unto us by his officers, by his preachers : shall we now despise the preachers ? shall we refuse to hear God’s word, to learn the way to heaven ? and require him to save us without his word ? No, no ; for when we do so, we tempt God, and shall be damned world without end.

This much I thought good to say against the suggestion of the devil, when he putteth thee in mind, saying, Thy fore-fathers are damned : that thou mightest learn not to despair of their salvation, and yet not be too careful ; for they have their part, we must not make an account for their doings, every one must make answer for himself, for when they be damned they cannot be brought again with our sorrowfulness ; let us rather endeavour ourselves to hear God’s word diligently, and learn the way of salvation, so that when we shall be called, we may be sure of it.

Now these false preachers, of which St. Paul speaketh here, are enemies unto the cross of Christ. What shall be their end ? Marry, perdition, destruction, and everlasting damnation. “ Whose god is their belly : ” the false preachers preach only pleasant things, and so get great rewards ; and are able to live wealthily in this world, and to make good cheer. I fear me there be many of these belly-gods in the world, which preach pleasant things to get riches, to go gay, and trick up themselves : they care for no more, they study and do what they can to buckle the gospel and the world together ; to set God and the devil at one table ; they be gospellers no longer but till they get riches ; when they have that that they seek for, they care for no more, then the gospel is gone quite out of their hearts, and their glory is to their shame ; it is a short glory and a long shame that they shall have ; for in the other world, *Erunt ad satietatem visionis omni carni*, “ All the world shall laugh upon them to their shame, which are worldly-minded.” Is

there not more that be worldly-minded than that be godly-minded? I think St. Paul spake these words by the clergymen, that will take upon them the spiritual office of preaching, and yet meddle in worldly matters too, contrary to their calling. The clergy of our time hath procured unto themselves a liberty to purchase lands. Think ye not that such doings savoured somewhat of worldly things? But I will desire them to take heed: for St. Paul saith here, that all they that be worldly-minded, are enemies of the cross of Christ; for they make their bellies to be their gods. Therefore they shall receive their punishment for their wicked doings. What shall that be? Marry, everlasting pain of hellish fire world without end, without any deliverance from the same; this is their reward.

But what shall become of St. Paul and all true preachers? He saith, "But our conversation is in heaven," What? was St. Paul in heaven when he spake these words? No; he was here on earth. But when we walk the pilgrimage of which I told you the last day, God's pilgrimage, then our conversation is in heaven; that is, conformable unto God's heavenly will: and God seeth them, and will reward them; when we will do the works of our vocation, and wrestle with sin and wickedness, and live after God's will and pleasure: whosoever doth so, that man or woman hath his conversation in heaven: "From whence we long for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ."

St. Paul looked for him to come from heaven. What is he not here already? Christ is here with us already to our comfort, by his spirit and power, to be our helper, and to work with his sacraments, to defend us from danger and peril, so he is with us in earth, but he is not here bodily: for he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Almighty; from thence shall he come to judge the quick and the dead. All good men and women long for him: and no doubt he will come, and very shortly, and will take account of every one of us; therefore as all the writers monish us, let us never forget this day which we call the doom's-day. St. Jerome saith, that he ever thought he heard the trumpet. Now they that have in consideration this day, and make themselves ready, it is a joyful thing unto them; but they

that be customable sinners, will not leave their wickedness, such as be common swearers, or adulterers, or idolaters, and do credit popery ; unto them this day shall be a fearful day, it shall be a heavy coming unto them. St. Paul telleth what good cheer they shall have ; namely, everlasting damnation ; being the enemies of Christ, their glory shall turn to their eternal shame. So you see that all the world may be divided in two parts ; namely, into the faithful and unfaithful.

Now St. Paul saith, that he looketh for this Saviour “ which shall change our vile bodies according to the working, whereby he is able also to subdue all things unto himself.” We have a frail body, mortal, subject to all infirmities and miseries : it is a gross body, but for all that it shall rise again ; and shall be changed. It is mortal now, it shall be immortal then ; it is possible now, it shall be impossible then ; it is gross now, it shall be turned into agility then ; it is corrupt now, it shall be incorrupt then ; it is ignominious now, it shall be glorious then, like unto his body. Now when it shall be so with our bodies, ye may be sure it shall be so with our souls too ; for that felicity that we shall have, that God hath laid up for us, passeth all men’s thoughts : what joy they shall have that be content to leave their sins, and live godly. And these things Christ our Saviour shall bring to pass by his infinite power.

Now to make an end ; for God’s sake mark these lessons well : for this is a very good piece of scripture, wherein Paul sheweth both ways. I think it were better for us to live so that we may attain to this felicity, which is prepared for us in heaven, rather than to follow our carnal desires and lusts. For when we leave our wicked life, and credit the word of God, and have a delight in it, no doubt it shall bring us in the end to this salvation, of which St. Paul speaketh here.

But how shall it go with the other which will not hear God’s word, nor leave their wickedness ? Marry, *Vermis eorum non morietur*, “ Their worm shall not die.” (Mark ix.) By these words of Christ, is expressed the great pain and sorrow that the wicked shall have : therefore, saith the scripture, *Mors peccatorum pessima*, “ The death of the sinners is the worst thing that can happen unto them.” (Psal. xxxiv.) What meaneth he by that ? he signifieth

unto us, that the wicked be not enough punished here; it shall be worse with them after their death. So that it shall be a change; they that have pleasure here, and live according to their desires, they shall come to afflictions in the other world. Again, they that have afflictions here, shall come yonder to the perpetual sabbath, where there is no manner of miseries, but a perpetual lauding and praising of God; to whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and ever, world without end. *Amen.*

THE
FIFTH SERMON
PREACHED ON
THE TWENTY-FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY, 1552,
BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

MATTHEW ix. LUKE viii. MARK v.

While he spake unto them this, behold there came a certain ruler, and worshipped him, saying, My daughter is even now diseased, but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live. And Jesus arose and followed him, and so did his disciples: and behold, a woman which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, &c.

THIS is a notable story, and much comfort we shall find in it, if we will consider and weigh it, with all the circumstances. The Evangelist Mark saith, the Ruler's name was Jairus; he was an officer, some think that he was a reader of scripture, as there were at that time; or perchance he was such an officer as we call churchwardens; which is a great office in the great cities: Churchwardens can bring much matter to pass; such a great officer he was. For though the Jews had a law, that they should make no sacrifices no where but at Jerusalem, where the temple was, and all the ceremonies, yet for all that they had in every town their churches or synagogues, like as we have churches here in England, commonly every town hath a church. And this word Church sometimes it signifieth the congregation, the people that is gathered together: sometimes it signifieth the place where the people come together; *Continens pro contento*, that is to say, "The thing that containeth, for that which is contained."

Now our Saviour coming to Capernaum, where that great man dwelt, which was such a town as Bristow or Coventry is, Jairus cometh unto him in all haste, and falleth down before him, *Et precabatur multum*, "and maketh great suit unto

him, that he would come to his house and heal his daughter, which was sick." No doubt he had heard what manner a man our Saviour was, and wherefore he was come into this world ; namely, to save sinners both in souls and bodies ; and he had heard also the general proclamation, written in the eleventh chapter of Matthew, where our Saviour saith, " Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will ease you."

This proclamation this Jairus had heard, and believed it. And therefore he cometh to Christ : he did not as a great many of us do, which when we be in trouble, or sickness, or lose any thing, we run hither and thither to wizards or sorcerers, whom we call wise men ; when there is no man so foolish and blind as they be ; for the devil leadeth them according unto his will and pleasure, and yet we run after them, seeking aid and comfort at their hands. But this good man did not so, he knew that God had forbidden to run to wizards. But what doth he ? Marry, he cometh to Christ our Saviour, with a good, strong, and unfeigned faith. For, as I told you before, he had heard before of Christ, of his proclamation, which moved him now in his distress to come unto him. And no doubt he had a good substantial faith, as it appeared by his behaviour ; yet he had not so good a faith as the Centurion had, which sent a message unto him, saying, " Lord, say but one word, and my servant shall be whole." This was a wondrous great faith : insomuch that Christ saith, *Dico vobis, ne in Israel quidem tantam fidem inveni,* " I have not found such a faith in all Israel." But though this Jairus had not so good a faith as the centurion had, yet he hath had such one which leadeth him to Christ. He cometh to Christ, he believeth that Christ is able to help him, and according unto his belief it happeneth unto him ; for his daughter was healed, as ye shall hear afterward ; and so upon him is fulfilled the scripture, *Credite propter quod loquutus sum,* " I have believed and therefore I have spoken." For look what man soever hath a good faith, he will not hold his peace, he will speak, he will call for help at his hands. For if this Jairus had not had a good faith, he would not have humbled himself so much, to fall down before such a poor man as our Saviour was.

Some would have had respect to their honours ; they would have thought it scorn to fall down before such a poor man as our Saviour was, or else he would have been afraid of the people that were present, to honour him so highly, and to confess him to be a helper. And no doubt, that Jairus was in great danger of his life ; for Christ was not beloved amongst the Jews ; therefore it was a great matter for this Jairus to honour Christ so openly before all the multitude. And no doubt if he had not had so good, strong, and earnest faith, he would not have done as he did ; but he had a good strong faith ; therefore he was not afraid of any thing in the world.

Now ye shall learn of this Jairus, first by his ensample to go to Christ, in all distresses to seek help by him : and also ye shall mark and observe his great and fatherly love, that he hath towards his daughter : for he maketh great suit to Christ for her, which signifieth that he hath a great and earnest love towards her. The same fatherly affection and love of the parents towards their children is the good gift of God ; and God hath planted the same in their hearts ; and this specially for two respects : First, for the children's sake : for it is an irksome thing to bring up children ; and not only that, but also it is a chargeable thing to keep them, and to wait upon them, and preserve them from all peril : if God had not planted such love in the parents' hearts, indeed it were impossible to do so much for them ; but God hath planted such love in their hearts, which love taketh away all irksomeness of all labour and pain. For what is a child when it is left alone ? what can it do ? how is it able to live ? Another cause is, wherefore God hath planted such love in the parents' hearts towards their children, that we might learn by it, what affections he beareth towards us. For though the love of parents towards their children be very great, yet the love of God towards us is greater ; yea, his love towards us passeth far all fatherly love which they have towards their children. And though Christ only be the very natural Son of God, yet with his death and passion he hath merited that we be the chosen children of God. For God for our sake hath bestowed his only natural son, unto the death, to the end that we should be made through him his chosen children. Now therefore all that believe in Christ, and trust through his passion to be

saved, all they are the children of God, and God loveth them more than any natural father loveth his child. For the love of God towards us is more earnest, and more vehement towards us, than is the fatherly love towards his natural child : which thing shall comfort us in all our distress, in what peril or danger soever we be, we shall believe that God is our Father. And therefore we shall come unto him in the name of Christ his natural son our Saviour : therefore we need not to despair in any manner of thing ; but rather whatsoever we have in hand, let us run to him, which beareth such a fatherly affection towards us, more a great deal than our natural fathers and mothers can do. As for our carnal or temporal fathers and mothers, sometimes they be unnatural, so that they will not help their children in their distress ; sometimes, again they would fain help, but they are not able to help them ; but our heavenly Father, he is loving and kind towards us, so that he will help. And then again he is mighty, he is almighty ; he can and may help : so that there lacketh neither good-will in him, neither power. Therefore let us not despair, but rather come unto him in all tribulation, and no doubt we shall be eased by him. For certain it is, that the Almighty God hath greater affection towards us, than our natural fathers and mothers can have. And this appeareth by that that he hath given his natural son (the highest treasure that ever he had in heaven or in earth) for us, even unto the death, in his bitter passion.

Further, in the prophets every where, he setteth out his great love which he hath towards us, saying, *Nunquid potest mulier oblivisci, &c.* ; “ Can a woman forget her own child which she hath borne into this world ? Yea, and though she do forget the same, yet will not I forget thee.” (Is. xlix.) It is a rare thing when the devil so much prevaleth in parents, that a mother should neglect or forget her own child ; yet, saith God, though it were so that she would forget her child, yet will not I forget thee, when thou believest in my son Christ : for the devil cannot prevail against me, though he prevail against women, so that sometimes they forget their own children, or kill them ; yet shall he not prevail against me, for I am mightier than he is.

Further, his love which he beareth towards us, is expressed in the seventh chapter of Matthew, where Christ saith ; " Is there any man amongst you which if his son ask bread, will he offer him a stone ? or if he asketh fish, will he offer him a serpent ? If ye then being evil, can give your children good gifts, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven, give good things if ye ask them of him ?" As who should say, though you be evil, yet when your children would have any thing that might hurt them, yet you being fathers and mothers do give them good things, which shall not hurt them. Now saith he, seeing ye, whose nature is ill, corrupt, and poisoned with wickedness, for there is no saint in heaven, neither St. Peter, or Paul, but when they were here, their nature was corrupt and given to wickedness, (and so they might be called ill,) can give good gifts unto your children, how much more will God, which is the fountain of all goodness, give you good things when ye desire them of him ? Here ye may learn now, that the love of God towards mankind, passeth all natural love : and that he is ready to give unto every one that cometh to him for help, yea, the very Holy Ghost he will give us, when we will desire it.

Now to the matter : this Jairus is a good and loving father towards his child, he cometh and desireth help of Christ, that his daughter may be healed. A covetous man would have passed on, he would not have taken so much pain as to come to Christ and desire his help. Therefore by this Jairus we may learn to have a good faith towards God, and a right natural love towards our children. But it is a comfortable thing to consider this fatherly affection of God towards us : If we would well consider the same, it would stir up a childly love in our hearts towards him, so that we would be content to be ordered by him, and ruled according to his pleasure ; like as a good and godly child is content to be ruled by his father and mother, and will in no wise do against them ; so we should be obedient unto God like as the child is unto his parents.

But ye will say, I pray you tell us what is the will of God ? Answer, The general will of God is expressed in the ten commandments : there we shall find what we shall do, and what we shall leave undone. But there is a special will of God, which is every man's calling ; for it is the will and pleasure of

God that every one shall do according unto his calling, whereunto God hath appointed him : as the magistrates, their calling is to see that all things be well, that justice be executed, that the wicked be punished, and the good be rewarded. *Item*, that the good and godly laws be maintained and executed ; and most specially, that the word of God be taught, that the people be not ignorant in that : and this is the will of God. When the magistrates do so, and when they endeavour themselves that God's honour and glory be set abroad, and that wickedness be abolished, then they do according unto their calling. So likewise the calling of the subjects is to be obedient unto the magistrates ; not to rebel against them ; for when they do, they strive against God himself, and shall be punished of him. *Item*, the married man ought to do his duty towards his wife, that is the will of God ; to love his wife, to provide for her, &c. Likewise the woman ought to do her duty towards her husband, in obeying him in all things that be not against God : For she may not obey her husband in wicked things, which be against God, but else there is no exception, but obey she must : for so it is written, so saith God unto her, “ In sorrow shalt thou bring forth thy children, and thy lust shall pertain unto thy husband, and he shall have the rule of thee.” (Gen. iii.) Now when the woman doth so, then she doth according unto her calling.

Further, masters ought to do their duties towards their servants and household, to instruct them in God's word, to let them have their meat and drink. Likewise, servants ought to obey their masters with all humbleness, to serve them uprightly and diligently, according as God willeth them to do. Now this is the special will of God, namely, that every one shall do according unto his calling, as God willeth him to do. Now to fulfil this will of God, we should be moved by the great love and fatherly affections which God beareth towards us : this love should move us to obey him, like as the good child obeyeth his father and mother.

Now cometh another matter ; for as our Saviour was going to the house where this young maid lay sick, there cometh a good faithful woman creeping through the people, for our Saviour was tossed and turmoiled in the multitude : for ye must understand that this Jairus was a great rich man, a man

of great estimation, therefore the people hearing that his daughter was sick, or dead, came unto him to go with the corse.

Here I must take occasion to speak somewhat: they be many nowadays very hasty to bury their friends, yea, sometimes before they be well dead. I heard say once, that a young woman was sick, and fell in a swoon; her friends which were with her, by and by made her ready to be buried; and when they went with the corse, and were coming into the church-yard, the corse stirred, and the vicar commanded them that bare her to set her down, and so finally the woman recovered. I tell this tale, to the end to give you warning, not to be too hasty with sick folks.

I have read in St. Augustine, that there was once a man which lay seven days speechless, neither seeing, nor hearing, nor yet receiving any sustenance, except some liquor, which they poured in his throat with a quill. Now that same man, after seven days, spake again; and the first word that he spake was this, What is the clock? he thought he had lain but a little while. Now, if his friends had been so hasty with him, he should have been buried before that time. Therefore I admonish you, not to be too hasty with dead corses, as long as they be warm, keep them in the bed; or when a man is dead indeed, he will soon be cold.

When our Saviour was going amongst this great multitude to Jairus's house, there cometh a woman through the people, desirous to touch his garment. The evangelist Mark setteth out this story more plainly than Matthew doth; he saith, "There was a certain woman which had been diseased of an issue twelve years, and had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and felt no amendment at all, but rather was worse and worse. When she had heard of Jesus, she came in the press of the people behind him, and touched his garment: for she said, If I only may touch the hem of his clothes I shall be whole." This woman was sick of a shameful disease, and had been sick of it twelve years, *Passa est multa*, "She had suffered much sorrow by it;" for no doubt whosoever hath ado with physicians he must be a sufferer: it is an irksome thing to go to physic: a man must receive many bitter medicines and potions. Therefore Mark saith, "She suffered much; they had put her to great pain, and

she had bestowed all her substance upon them, and was never the better, but rather the worse." Belike she had been a woman of great riches, of great substance, else she should not have been able to wage physicians so long. This place of scripture reproveth not physicians, as though physic were a superfluous thing, and not necessary, because this woman was not healed ; as when ye would reason of this manner : What, shall I go to physic ? no, that I will not, for I read in scripture, that a woman spent all her goods upon physicians, and yet was never the better. But this text maketh no more against physic, than this text doth against labour, where Peter saith, *Per totam noctem laboravimus et nihil capimus*, " We have laboured the whole night, and have gotten nothing." Now a rash fellow will say, What, hath St. Peter laboured all night and caught nothing ? then I will not labour at all, for I shall get nothing with my labour : but this is a foolish reasoning. For though the woman spent all upon physicians, and yet was not healed ; and though Peter laboured all night, and catched nothing, yet for all that we are allowed to use physic, and commanded to labour. For so saith scripture ; *Honora medicum propter necessitatem*, " Honour the physician for need's sake." *Item, à Deo est omnis medela*, " from God is all cure, and the highest hath created the medicine." If we knew the virtue of every herb, we might be our own physicians, but we know them not ; therefore God hath ordained, that some should give themselves to the knowledge of such things, and then teach others.

We read in the fourth book of Kings, the twentieth chapter, when Hezekiah the king was sick, God sendeth Isaiah the prophet unto him, saying, *Dispone domui tuae quia morieris*, " Put thy house in an order, for thou shalt die." But here note by the way, that God required the king to set his things in an order, to make his testament ; so we shall follow this ensample. When we perceive that God will call us out of this life, we shall order all things so that there be no strifes after our departure ; that men may know what every body shall have.

For that which was said to Hezekiah is said to every one of us ; for God loveth not strifes nor contentions ; he is a God of unity and concord : therefore to avoid all contentions,

we ought to set our things in good order. Now although God sendeth Isaiah thither, to tell him that he shall die, yet it was not such a straight sentence, that it should be done out of hand, by and by : but rather God would move him by this message that Isaiah brought, to make suit for longer life. Like as he sendeth Jonas to Nineveh, with a straight commandment, whereby God would move them to make suit, and moan to him, and so to leave their sins and wicked life.

Now Hezekiah hearing such a message of the prophet, what did he ? Marry, he fell to prayer, rehearsing how beneficial God had been unto him ; saying, " I beseech thee now, O Lord, remember how I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight ; and Hezekiah wept very sore :" and so God sendeth the prophet unto him again, promising him that he should live yet fifteen years more. Now did he nothing else after that he had this promise of God ? Yes, he used physic, he took a lump of figs, and laid it upon the sore, like as we in sickness time lay plasters upon it. So ye see by the ensample of Hezekiah, that it is lawful to use physic.

But now at our time, physic is a remedy prepared only for rich folks, not for poor, for the poor man is not able to wage the physician. God indeed hath made physic for rich and poor ; but physicians nowadays, seek only their own profits, how to get money, not how they might do good unto their poor neighbour. Whereby it appeareth that they be for the most part without charity ; and so, consequently, not the children of God : and no doubt but the heavy judgment of God hangeth over their heads : for they are commonly all wealthy, and ready to purchase lands, but to help their poor neighbour, that they cannot do ; but God will find them out one day, I doubt not.

We must beware when we go to physic, that we trust not too much to physicians, and forget God in the mean season. Like as king Asa did, which had a disease in his feet, and is much reproved because he sought not the Lord : he trusted not in God, but rather in physicians : for scripture saith, " In his sickness he sought not the Lord, but physicians." (2 Chron. xvi.)

I knew once a great rich man and a covetous fellow, he had

purchased about an hundred pound; that same stout man came once to London, where he fell sick, as stout as he was; and in his sickness, when he was exhorted to bear it well, and submit himself unto God, he cried out with horrible swearings, Shall I die? shall I die? Physicians, physicians, call physicians. As well as he loved his gold, which was his god, yet he could find in his heart to spend it upon physicians; but in the end he died like a beast, without any repentance. This man now abused the physicians: for we may use physic, but we must not trust in physic, as Asa the king did, and that wicked man of whom I told you: we may use God's provisions and remedies which he hath left for us, yet for all that we may not trust in them.

Now to the purpose; "This woman had spent all her goods and was never the better:" Well, that the physicians could not do, Christ our Saviour did it, and on this wise: There was a great multitude of people about Christ, they pressed upon him: Now the woman cometh amongst the press of the people to him, desiring to touch only the hem of his garment, for she believed that Christ was such a healthful man, that she should be sound as soon as she might touch him; which came to pass so as she believed. For as soon as she had touched him, her issue was stopped, and her sickness gone quite and clean. She was a shamefaced woman; she was not so bold as to speak to our Saviour, but she cometh behind his back, and stealeth, as it were, her health. But what doth our Saviour? he would not suffer her to be hid, but saith to his disciples, *Quis me tetigit?* " Who hath touched my clothes?" His disciples made answer, saying, " Thou seest the people thrust thee, and askest thou, Who touched me?" And he looked round about for to see her that had done this thing. But the woman, fearing and trembling, knowing what was done within her, came and fell down before him, and told him all the truth. No doubt this woman was ashamed to confess her filthy sickness before the whole multitude: But what then? Christ would have it so. " I perceive, saith Christ, that virtue is gone out of me:" he saith not, my cloke, or my vestment hath done a work: but he saith, *Ego cognovi virtutem à me exisse.* " I know virtue is gone out of me." Therefore we shall not be so foolish to think that

our Saviour's hem had made the woman whole ; but rather her good faith and trust which she had in our Saviour.

We must not do as the foolish blind papists do, which impute great holiness unto the vestment of our Saviour. So ye see that this woman was made whole by Christ, through him, by his divine power. And so is verified this which scripture saith, " That which is impossible unto man, is possible unto God." Physicians had despaired of that woman, it passed their cunning to help her ; but our Saviour he declared his divine power, and healed her out of hand, she doing nothing but touching the hem of his vestment. So God can help, when men cannot.

An ensample we have in scripture, when the people of Israel going out of Egypt came unto the Red Sea, they had great hills of both sides. Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, followed with all his host at their backs, the Red Sea was afore them, so that there was nothing, after man's reason, but to perish : What doth God ? Marry, he divided by his infinite power the Red Sea, and delivered them out of all danger. So it appeared that God is able to defend his people that believe in him, extraordinarily. Likewise in the wilderness they had no corn, nor any thing to eat, there was no ordinary way to live : What doth God ? He taketh an extraordinary way ; he sendeth manna from heaven. So we see that he is able to help us supernaturally ; but yet we must take heed and not tempt God, we must use all such means as he hath appointed to sustain this life, else we should tempt God, which is forbidden. So likewise we read, that when David was in the wilderness, and Saul had compassed him round about, so that he, after man's judgment, could not escape ; What doth God ? Marry, he sendeth the Philistines into the land of Saul ; which when Saul heard of, he went back and left David. So by that means God delivered his faithful servant David out of the hands of this cruel enemy Saul. (1 Sam. xxiii.)

By these ensamples we may learn to put our trust and hope in God, in all manner of troubles, like as this woman did hers : she believed in our Saviour, and therefore she was healed. All England, yea all the world, may take this woman for a schoolmistress, to learn by her to trust in Christ, and to seek help at his hands.

Again, by this woman you may learn, that God sometimes bringeth some low, and humbleth them to that end to promote them, and to bring them aloft: as in this woman, she was sick twelve years, and vexed with such an irksome sickness; but at the length she was healed, and not only that, but also exalted, for Christ called her his daughter; which was the greatest promotion that could be. So likewise Joseph was in great misery, sold into Egypt, and afterward cast into prison, where he lay a great while; he was greatly humbled: but what was the end of it? Marry, he was a ruler over all Egypt: this was a great promotion. So likewise David was humbled, made an outlaw, an outcast, durst not shew himself; but in the end, he was made king over all Jewry, being at the first but a shepherd, and afterward an outlaw, but in the end he was made king. So this woman, though she was low, and loth to confess her filthy disease, yet she was well promoted, after she had confessed it; she was made his daughter, which was a great promotion.

But mark that Christ saith not to her, *My hem hath healed thee*; but he saith, “*Thy faith hath holpen thee*.” Peradventure if we had this hem, we would make a great matter of it; which thing were but foolery: let us use prayer, which hath a promise, for God promiseth, that when we pray unto him, we shall be heard; when we pray with a faithful heart, as this woman did, which believed that Christ would help her: and for this faith sake, she was so highly commended of Christ, and all the people were edified by her ensample. But specially Jairus, that great man, whose daughter lay sick; he had cause to strengthen his faith by the ensample of this woman, which woman believed the word of God, and therefore she came unto Christ.

So let us do too, let us stay ourselves upon God’s word. Christ saith, *Venite ad me, omnes*, “Come ye all to me.” Let us follow this word, and let us come unto him, for this faith that hath God’s word is a true faith; but that faith which hath not God’s word is a lying faith, a false faith. As the Turks and Jews, they have a faith, but their faith is not grounded in God’s word, and therefore it is a lying faith, because it hath not the word of God. Therefore, like as the doctrine is nothing, bringeth no profit, without the word of God, so the

word of God bringeth no commodities except faith be there, except it be believed, else it is to no purpose. But this woman believed the word of God, she believed that Christ was come to heal the sick, of souls and bodies; therefore according unto her belief it happened unto her: and no doubt she is a saint in heaven; for we read not that she fell afterward from Christ.

So we learn by this woman to have a good faith in Christ we must not run hither and thither to seek the hem. No, we must believe in him in all distresses, come unto him, seek help and comfort by him.

Now our Saviour, after that he had healed this woman, he goeth to this great man's house, which had called him to make sound his daughter; when he cometh near unto the house, there cometh one of Jairus's servants, saying, "Thy daughter is dead, she is gone; trouble the master no longer, for all help is past." Lo, this had been enough to bring Jairus out of his faith, hearing that his daughter was dead already; it was a great temptation unto him. But here ye may learn, that when ye go by the way, and ye have occasion to do a good deed, do it; follow the ensample of Christ, for he was going to Jairus's house, and in the way he did this good deed, in healing that diseased woman; giving unto us an ensample, that we should intermit no occasion, but whensoever we have opportunity to do good, we shall do it. And here we learn another thing in our Saviour, namely, that there is no respect of persons with him, he regardeth not the outward shew of men, whether they be poor or rich. But, as St. Peter saith, "In all people he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, he is accepted unto him." For Christ refused no man, neither rich nor poor. But we see they that be poor, are commonly ill handled in this world, no man regardeth them, every man despiseth them.

Again, we read every where that the rich and great men, are ill spoken of in scripture: *Potentes potenter tormenta patientur*, "Thy mighty men shall mightily suffer pains in hell;" yet this scripture disalloweth or reproveth not great men and mighty rulers; but it speaketh against those which abuse their power wherewith God hath endued them, oppress other poor men, do them wrong and injuries. For commonly

it is seen, that they that be rich are lofty and stout, and abuse their riches or their power ; for no doubt riches may be used to good purposes. But our Saviour, he hath no respect to persons, whether they be poor or rich ; for here we see how he helpeth first the poor woman, and now is going to help the rich man too, to raise up his daughter, which was dead and ready to be buried.

Further, we learn here by this Jairus to be constant and stedfast in our faith, not to be moved with every wind : for there were many things which might have moved this Jairus to mistrust our Saviour, and to run from him : First, his servant, that came and told him, “ Thy daughter is gone ; ” which was a great discomfort : for as long as she was yet alive, he had a good hope, but when he heard that she was gone, it discouraged him very sore. Secondarily, the preparation which was made for her to be buried ; for all the people were come now to go with the corse, which was a great discomfort unto him also. Thirdly, the words of our Saviour most and above all things discomfited him, when our Saviour saith, “ She is not dead, but she sleepeth.” By these words Jairus might have conceived an ill opinion in him, saying, What ? he thinketh that she sleepeth ; no, if it were so, I could raise her up myself. Of such wise this Jairus was tempted. Now when they came near unto the house, there was a great number of people which laughed our Saviour to scorn when he said that she slept. Where we may learn to be content, though we be despised and not set by in this world ; seeing that our Saviour himself was of such wise despised. I doubt not but I have been laughed to scorn when I have preached that the way to get riches is to give away to the poor this that we have. They have called me old doting fool ; but what then, we must be content to be despised with Christ here in this world, that we may be glorified with him in yonder world.

Here is mention made of minstrels ; no doubt they have their good use to make folk merry, and to drive away phantasies : at that time they used minstrels to their burials, as we use here bells. Now our Saviour seeing the people that were come to go with the corse, and the pipers and minstrels ready, he comforted Jairus, which no doubt was in great anguish, therefore Christ saith unto him, *Noli timere, tantum crede,*

"Fear not, but only believe; continue only in thy faith towards me, and all things shall be well." Now like as he saith to Jairus, so he saith to us too, in what peril or tribulation soever we be, we should not faint, we should not fear, but believe; he will regard our faith, as much as he regarded the faith of Jairus. And we shall attain to such an end as he did. For ye must consider, that the Almighty God doth sometimes put off the fulfilling of his promises, and helpeth not by and by; but wherefore doth he so? marry for his own glory's sake; for if we should have by and by that thing which we desire, then peradventure we should attribute it unto our own selves and not unto God: therefore it cometh not by and by, that we may afterwards, when we have it, be the more thankful for his help. Therefore let us continue in prayer, and in faith, and no doubt he will help when it is the very time. *Expecta Dominum* (saith David) tarry for the Lord, *veniet et non tardabit*, "Tarry, saith David, for the Lord; he will come, and not tarry; and when he cometh, he will set all things in good order."

Now he saith to the people, *Quid ploratis*, "What weep ye?" You must understand that our Saviour condemneth not all manner of weeping, but only that which is without hope: of which St. Paul speaketh, *Tanquam qui spem non habent*, "As they that have no hope." But charitable weeping is allowed, yea commanded; for St. Paul saith, *Flete cum flentibus*, "Weep with them that weep, be sorrowful with them that be sorrowful." Yet do it measurably, as it becometh christians.

In the time of popery, before the gospel came amongst us, we went to burials with weeping and wailing, as though there were no God: but since the gospel came unto us, I have heard say, that in some places they go with the corses grinning and flearing, as though they went to a bear-baiting; which thing no doubt is naught: for like as too much weeping is naught, so to be *ασοπυος*, "without affection," is naught too; we should keep a measure in all things. We read in holy scripture, that the holy patriarch Abraham mourned for his wife Sarah. So likewise did Joseph for his father Jacob; therefore to weep charitably and measurably is not ill, but good, and allowed in God's word. So likewise in the new testa-

ment, when that holy man St. Stephen was stoned to death. the text saith, that the church *fecerunt planctum magnum*, "made great lamentation and weeping over him." Here I might have occasion to speak against those women which so soon forget their husbands that be departed; which thing I cannot very well allow, for it is a token of an unperfect love. It was a law among the Romans, that no woman should marry again before twelve months were expired; which no doubt was an honest law: but to avoid whoredom, let the christian woman use her liberty.

Now when our Saviour was come to the house, he suffered no man to go in with him but Peter, James, and John, and the father and mother of the child; all the other he thrust out: and took the maid by the hand, saying, *Tabitha cumi*, "Maid, I say unto thee, arise:" and her spirit came again, and she arose straightways. What shall we learn here? marry, we shall learn here that our Saviour did overcome death, that he is the Lord over death, that he hath the victory over him. Secondarily, we learn here that our Saviour is very God, because he commandeth death. For I tell you death is such an arrogant and stubborn fellow, that he will obey no body but only God. Now he obeyed our Saviour, whereby it appeareth, that he is Lord over death. He said, "Maid, I say unto thee, arise;" and by and by she was perfectly whole: for she eat, to signify that she was made right whole. Here our Saviour shewed himself to be very God, and so the Lord over death; fulfilling the saying of St. Paul, *Ero mors tua, δ mors*, "O death, I shall be thy death." This is now a comfortable thing, that we know that Christ hath overcome death, and not for himself, but for us, for our sake: so that when we believe in Christ, death shall not hurt us, for he hath lost his strength and power; insomuch that it is no more a death, but rather a sleep, to all them that be faithful and fear God; from which sleep they shall rise to everlasting life. Also the wicked truly shall rise, but they shall rise to their damnation; so that it were better for them never to rise.

There be two kinds of people which will not sleep, the first be the children, which weep and grieve when they shall go to bed, because they know not the commodities that be in sleep, they know not that the sleep refresheth a man's body, and

maketh him to forget all the labours which he hath had before, this the children know not, therefore they go with an ill will to bed. The other be drunkards, which be given to great drinking, they care not though they be all night at it, and commonly the sleep doth them harm, for it maketh them heavy foreheads. So likewise there be two kind of men that fear death, which death in very deed ought not to be feared: for he is the best physician that ever was, he delivereth at a clap from all miseries; therefore he ought not to be feared. But as I told you, two kind of men there be that fear him; the children, that is to say, they that are childish to godward, that are ignorant in scripture, that know not what great treasures we shall receive at God's hands after this life; but they are all wholly set and bent upon this world: and these are the children that will not go to bed; that is to say, that fear death, that are loth to go out of this world. The other be drunkards, that be customizable sinners, that will not amend their lives; that are drunken, or drowned in sins and wickedness, that regard sin nothing, they are not weary of it. Like as it is written, "The sinner when he cometh in the midst of his sin, then he careth no more for it, he despiseth it, he is not sorry for it :" what remedy now? Marry this, they that be in case as children be, that is to say, they that be ignorant; let them get knowledge, let them endeavour themselves to understand God's holy word, wherein is set out his will, what he would have us to do. Now when they have heard God's word, and believed that same, no doubt all the fear of death will be vanished, and gone quite away. For they shall find in God's word, that death hath lost his strength, that he cannot hurt any more. Likewise they that be drunkards, that is to say, that be customizable sinners, let them repent here where the time of grace is; let them amend their lives, be sorry for that they have done, and take heed henceforward, and believe in Christ, to be saved by and through his passion. For I tell you drunkards, you customizable sinners, as long as you live in sin and wickedness, and have a delight in them, so long you are not in the favour of God, you stink before his face; for we must wrestle with sin, we must hate sin, not agree unto it; when ye do so, then ye ought not to be afraid of death, for the death of Christ our Saviour hath killed our

death, so that he cannot hurt us. Notwithstanding, death hath bitter potions; but what then? as soon as he hath done his office, we are at liberty, and have escaped all peril.

I will ask here a great clerky question, Where was the soul now after it went out of this young maid? it was not in heaven, nor in hell; *Nam in inferno non est redemptio*, "There is no redemption in hell." Where was it then? in purgatory? So the papists have reasoned, it was not in hell, nor in heaven, *ergo*, it was in purgatory; which no doubt is a vain, foolish argument. Now I will make a clerky answer unto my question, and such an answer, that if the bishop of Rome would have gone no further, we should have been well enough, there would not have been such errors and fooleries in religion as there hath been. Now my answer is this, I cannot tell; but where it pleased God it should be, there it was. Is not this a good answer to such a clerky question? I think it be; other answer nobody gets of me: because the scripture telleth me not where she was.

Now ye have heard that our Saviour is the Lord over death, and so consequently very God, because he raised up this young woman which was dead. But peradventure ye will say, it is no great matter that he raised up a maiden which was dead: for we read of Elisha the prophet, that he raised up a young man from death. Answer, truth it is, he raised him up, but not by his own power, not in his own name, but by the power of God; he did it not by himself: but Christ our Saviour, he raised up Lazarus, and this young maid, by his own divine power, shewing himself to be very God, and the Son of the Father eternal: therefore he saith, *Ego sum resurrectio et vita*, "I am the resurrection and the life:" this was his doctrine. Now to prove that doctrine to be true, he did miracles by his own divine power, shewing himself to be very God: so did not the prophets, they were God's servants, God's ministers; but they were not gods themselves, neither did they any thing in their own name.

Now to make an end; let us remember what we have heard, let us take heed that we be not customizable sinners, but rather let us strive with sin; for I tell you, there be but few of those that spend all their time in the pleasures of the flesh, that

speed well at the end ; therefore let us take heed. The murderer upon the cross he sped well ; but what then, let us not presume to tarry in wickedness still, to the last point of our life : let us leave wickedness, and strive with our fleshly affections, then we shall attain in the end to that felicity, which God hath prepared for all them that love him : to whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory,
Amen.

THE
SIXTH SERMON,

PREACHED ON

THE FIRST SUNDAY IN ADVENT, 1552,

BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

ROMANS, xiii. 8, 9.

Owe nothing to any man but this, that ye love one another : for he that loveth another fulfilleth the law. For this commandment, Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness: Thou shalt not lust, and so forth: If there be any other commandment, it is all comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself

AS for the first part of this epistle, we have elsewhere spoken of it before. For St. Paul entreateth of love, and I told you how that love is a thing which we owe one to another ; and we are never quit of this debt, we can never discharge ourselves of it; for as long as we live we are in that debt. I will not tarry now to entreat of it: for I told you since I came into this country, certain special properties of this love. Therefore I will only desire you to consider, that this love is the livery of Christ ; they that have this livery be his servants. Again, they that have it not, be the servants of the devil ; for Christ saith, “ By that they shall know that ye be my disciples, if ye love one another : ” they that bear ill will, hatred, and malice, to their neighbours be the devil’s servants. And whatsoever such men do, that hate their neighbours, pleaseth not God ; God abhorreth it, they and all their doings stink before him. For if we would go about to sacrifice and offer unto God a great part of our substance, if we lack love, it is all to no purpose, he abhorreth all our doings: therefore our Saviour giveth us warning that we shall know that our doings please not God when we are out of charity with our neighbour, have

grieved, or injured him : these be his words : “ Therefore if thou offerest thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy offering before the altar, and go thy way first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.” (Matt. v.) For certain it is, that when we be without love and charity, we please not God at all, neither in sacrifices or any manner of things ; therefore I desire you, call to remembrance what I said at the same time when I entreated of love ; for I tell you God will not be mocked ; it is not enough to pretend a love and charity with our mouth, and to speak fair, and in our hearts to hate our neighbour ; this is naught : we should not only speak well by our neighbour, but also we should love him indeed ; we should help him in his need, should forgive him with all our hearts, when he hath done any thing against us ; for if he needeth help, and I help him not, being able, then my love is not perfect ; for the right love sheweth herself, by the outward works : like as St. James saith, “ Shew me thy faith by thy works ;” so I say unto you, shew your love by your works. Now to the other matters.

This also we know, the season how that it is time that we should now “ awake out of sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. The night is passed, the day is come nigh ; let us therefore cast away the deeds of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light ; let us walk honestly, as it were in the day-light ; not in eating and drinking, neither in chambering and wantonness, neither in strife and envying ; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of it.”

Here St. Paul requireth a great thing of us, namely, that we should awake from sleep. He argueth of the circumstances of the time. But that sleep of which he speaketh is specially a spiritual sleep, the sleep of the soul, yet we may learn by this text, that too much sluggishness of the body is naught and wicked, to spend that good time which God hath given us to do good in, to spend it I say in sleeping : for we ought to keep a measure, as well in sleeping as in eating and drinking, and we please God as well in sleeping our natural sleep, as in eating and drinking : but we must see that we keep a measure, that we give ourselves not to much sluggishness. For like as we

may not abuse meat and drink, so we may not abuse sleeping, to turn our natural sleep into sluggishness.

But St. Paul speaketh here specially of the sleep of the soul; that is, of sin and wickedness, which is called in scripture sleep or darkness, from which sleep St. Paul would have us to rise. For our salvation is come nearer. How chanceth it that St. Paul saith, that our salvation is come nearer? Do we not believe now as the prophets and patriarchs did, and how is then our salvation come nearer? You must understand that there be two times from the beginning, the first time was from the beginning of the world till Christ; till to his coming: the other time is since he came: for when he came he wrought the work of our salvation, and taught us the way to heaven, suffered that pain for us which we should have suffered in hell, world without end, and rose again from the death declaring his resurrection unto his disciples; and so ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of God his Father, where he with his intercession applieth unto us which believe in him, his passion and all his merits: so that all that believe in him shall be quit from their sins. For his passion is profitable only unto them that believe: notwithstanding that his death might be sufficient for all the whole world, yet for all that no man shall enjoy that same benefit, but only they that believe in him, that put their hope, trust, and confidence in him.

Now therefore St. Paul saith, "Our salvation is come nearer," because Christ is come already, and maketh intercession for us. All they that were before his coming, as the patriarchs and prophets, and all other faithful, they believed that he should come, but so do not we: we believe that he is come already, and hath fulfilled all things. The Jews which are at our time, believe that he shall come: but they tarry in vain, their faith is a deceitful faith, because it is against God's word; for Christ is not to be looked for to come again and suffer. No not so, but he will come again to judge both the quick and the dead. Our Saviour Christ was revealed long before he came to suffer. First in Paradise, when God spake of the woman's seed, saith, *Conteret caput serpentis*, "The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head." And this was a gospel, a glad tidings: for the serpent had deceived

Adam and Eve, brought them from their felicity, to which they were created: so that Adam and Eve could not help themselves, nor amend the matter.

Now then cometh God with his gospel, and promiseth that there shall be one born of a woman, which shall quash the serpent's head; and this was a gospel. And no doubt as many as did believe these words, and did put their hope in the seed of the woman, and believed to be delivered from their sins through that seed: As many I say as believed so, were saved; as Seth, Enoch, and other good and godly men, which were at that time; but there was not a great number of those; for the most part ever was the worst. Further, this gospel was revealed unto Abraham, when God did promise him, saying, *In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes*, "In thy seed all nations shall be blessed:" So that it appeared, that without Christ, we are under the curse of God. And again, by Christ we have the benediction of God.

Likewise this gospel was opened unto David, and all the holy prophets: They spake of this gospel, and taught the people to look for their Saviour; but their sayings and prophecies were somewhat dark and obscure. Now when he came and dwelt amongst us, and shewed us the way to heaven, with his own mouth, he taught us this gospel, and suffered his painful passion for us: this was a more clear revelation than the prophets had. Therefore Christ our Saviour saith to his disciples; "Happy are the eyes which see those things which ye see: For I tell you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them." (Matt. xiii. Luke x.) But wherefore were they called blessed? that they saw him? Then if the blessedness stand in the outward seeing, then Adam and Eve, and all the prophets were not blessed, but cursed: if the blessedness standeth in the bodily sight, then the brute beasts were blessed which saw him; the ass whereupon he rode was blessed, yea his very enemies, Annas and Caiaphas, and Pilate, and other that consented unto his death, were blessed. But it is not so, ye must understand, that our Saviour in that manner of speaking putteth only a difference between the times. For at that time when he was here on earth, he was more clearly revealed than

afore, when he was only promised to come. When he did miracles, cast out devils, healed the sick, it was a more clear revelation, than when God said, *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*: "The seed of the woman shall break the head of the serpent." When John Baptist pointed and shewed him with his finger, it could better be understood than the prophecies which were spoken of him.

Therefore this blessedness whereof Christ speaketh, and St. Paul, when he saith that "our salvation is come nearer," must be understood of the diversity of the time: for Christ was clearer revealed in the end of the world than before. But as touching the blessedness which we have by Christ, it was alike at all times, for it stood Adam in good stead to believe the first promise which God made unto him, and he was as well saved by it, in believing that Christ should come, as we be; which believe that he is come, and hath suffered for us. So likewise the prophets were saved in believing that he should come and suffer, and deliver mankind by his most painful death.

But now since he is come indeed, and hath overcome the devil, and redeemed our sins, suffered the pains, not for his own sake, but for our sakes; for he himself had no sin at all, he suffered to deliver us from everlasting damnation; he took our sins, and gave us his righteousness: Now since that all these things are done and fulfilled, therefore saith Paul, *Proprius nos est salus nunc, quam quum credi dimus*, "Our salvation is come nearer now, than when we believed :" taking occasion of the time, to move us to rise from our sleep: as who should say, Christ is come now, he hath fulfilled all things, of which things the prophets have spoken, now therefore arise from your sins. The same sleep of which St. Paul speaketh here, is the sleep of sin, a spiritual sleep, not a natural sleep of the body: as for the natural sleep, it is lawful for us to sleep and to take our rest; when we do it measurably, not too much setting aside our business, whereunto God hath called us, and do nothing but play the sluggards: when we do so, then we do naught, and sin against God. Therefore we must awake from the sinful sleep, we must set aside slothfulness, with all other vices and sins.

But I pray you what is sin? I think there be many which

can commit sin, and do wickedly, but I think there be but few of those which know what is sin. Therefore I will tell you what is sin: all that that is done against the laws of God, contrary to his will and pleasure, that is sin and wickedness. Now there be two manner of laws. There be general laws, pertaining to every man and woman, and there be special laws: the general laws are comprehended in the ten commandments, which ten commandments are comprehended in the law of love, "Thou shalt love God with all thy heart, &c. And thy neighbour as thyself;" these be general laws.

Now then there be special laws, which teach us how every man and woman shall live in their calling, whereunto God hath called them. These laws teach how magistrates shall do their duty, execute justice, punish the wicked, defend the good, to see that the commonwealth be well ordered, and governed, that the people live godly, every man in his calling. So likewise married folk have their special calling and laws. There is appointed in scripture how the man shall nourish his wife, rule her with all lenity and friendliness; the woman likewise shall obey her husband, be loving and kind towards him. So masters ought to do according unto their calling, that is, to rule their house well and godly, to see that their servants be well occupied, and to let them have their meat, and drink, and wages. So servants have their laws, that is, to obey their masters; to do diligently all business whatsoever their masters command unto them, so far as it is not against God. For when a master will command unto his servants to do such things, which are against God, then the servant ought not to obey, to do those things.

Now whosoever transgresseth these laws, either the general or the special laws, he sinneth: and that which is done contrary to these laws, is sin. When ye will know now whether ye have sinned or not, see and consider these laws, and then go into thy heart and consider thy living, how thou hast spent all thy days: when thou dost so, no doubt thou shalt find innumerable sins done against these laws. For the law of God is a glass, wherein a man may see his spots and filthiness: therefore, when we see them, let us abhor them and leave them; let us be sorry for that which is passed, and let us take a good purpose to leave all sins from henceforward.

And this is it that St. Paul saith, let us arise from the sleep of sin and wickedness, for our salvation is come nearer; our Saviour he is clearly opened unto us, he hath suffered for us already, and fulfilled the law to the uttermost; and so by his fulfilling taken away the curse of the law.

But there be two manner of sins, there is a deadly sin and a venial sin; that is, sins that be pardonable, and sins that be not pardonable. Now how shall we know which be venial sins, or which be not; for it is good to know them, and so to keep us from them. When ye will know which be deadly sins or not, you must first understand, that there be two manner of men; when I say men, I understand women, too, that is, all mankind, and so doth scripture too understanding the women too by this word men; for else we should not find in scripture that we should baptize women, for the scripture saith, *Baptizate eos, "Baptize them."* He speaketh in the masculine gender only. *Item, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex spiritu et aqua,* " Except a man be born again through spirit and water :" Here is made no mention of women, yet they be understood in it too: For the salvation and everlasting life pertaineth as well unto faithful women as it doth unto faithful men; for he suffered as well for the women, as he did for the men. God would have them both to be saved, the men and the women. So ye see that this word men signifieth or containeth both the sexes, the men and the women, at some times, not always: but I say there be two manner of men, some there be that be not justified, not regenerate, nor yet in the state of salvation; that is to say, not God's servants; they lack the renovation or regeneration, they be not come yet to Christ.

Now these persons that be not come yet to Christ, or if they were come to Christ, be fallen again from him, and so lost their justification, (as there be many of us, which when we fall willingly into sin against conscience, we lose the favour of God, our salvation, and finally the Holy Ghost;) all they now that be out of the favour of God, and are not sorry for it, sin grieveth them not, they purpose to go forward in it; all those that intend not to leave their sins, are out of the favour of God, and so all their works, whatsoever they do, be deadly sins; for as long as they be in purpose to sin, they sin deadly in all their doings. Therefore when we will speak of the diver-

sity of sins, we must speak of those that be faithful, that be regenerated and made new, and clean from their sins through Christ. Now this I say; I have venial sins, and deadly sins. Which be venial sins? Every sin that is committed against God not wittingly, nor willingly; not consenting unto it; those be venial sins. As for an ensample; I see a fair woman, I am moved in my heart to sin with her, to commit the act of lechery with her; such thoughts rise out of my heart, but I consent not unto them; I withstand these ill motions, I follow the ensample of the godly young man, Joseph; I consider in what estate I am, namely, a temple of God; and that I should lose the Holy Ghost; on such wise I withstand my ill lusts and appetites, yet this motion in my heart is sin, this ill lust which riseth up; but it is a venial sin, it is not a mortal sin, because I consent not unto it, I withstand it; and such venial sins the just man committeth daily. For scripture saith, "The righteous man falleth seven times;" (Prov. xxiv.) that is, oftentimes: for his works are not so perfect as they ought to be. For I pray you, who is he that loveth his neighbour so perfectly and vehemently as he ought to do? Now this imperfection is sin, but it is a venial sin, not a mortal; therefore he that feeleth his imperfections, feeleth the ill motions in his heart, but followeth them not, consenteth not unto the wickedness to do them: these be venial sins, which shall not be imputed unto us to our damnation. So all the ill thoughts that rise up in our hearts are venial; as long as we consent not unto them, to fulfil them with the deed.

I put the case, Joseph had not resisted the temptations of his master's wife; but had followed her, and fulfilled the act of lechery with her, had weighed the matter after a worldly fashion, thinking I have my mistress's favour already and so by that mean I shall have my master's favour too, nobody knowing of it. Now when he had done so, this act had been a deadly sin, for any act that is done against the law of God willingly and wittingly, is a deadly sin. And that man or woman that committeth such an act, loseth the Holy Ghost and the remission of sins; and so becometh the child of the devil, being before the child of God. For a regenerate man or woman, that believeth, ought to have dominion over sin;

but as soon as sin hath rule over him, he is gone: for she leadeth him to delectation of it, and from delectation to consenting, and so from consenting to the act itself. Now he that is led so with sin, he is in the state of damnation, and sinneth damnable. And so ye may perceive which be they that sin deadly, and what is the deadly sin, namely, that he sinneth deadly that wittingly falleth in sin; therefore it is a perilous thing to be in such an estate, to be in the state of damnation and everlasting perdition. Let us follow therefore this good warning which St. Paul giveth us here, let us rise from the sleep of sin, let us take a hearty purpose to leave all wickedness. But may we do so? May we rise from sin? Yes, that we may: for God hath provided a remedy for us: what is that? Marry, penance, we must have the staff of penance, and rise up withal: and this penance is such a salve that it healeth all sores, if a man have done all the world's sin, yet when he taketh this staff of penance in his hand, that is to say, when he is sorry for it, and intendeth to leave them, no doubt he may recover; and God is that same physician which useth but one manner of salve to all manner of sores.

We read in the gospel of Luke, that when Pilate had done a notable murder, and had mingled the blood of certain Jews with their own sacrifices, now some came and told Christ what Pilate had done: Our Saviour maketh them answer, saying, "I tell you, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise so perish." As who should say, whatsoever Pilate hath done, see you that ye do penance, and amend your naughty livings, or else ye shall all be destroyed. This was a good quip that he giveth unto the Jews; which were ready to speak of other men's faults, but of their own faults they made no mention; as it is our nature, to be more ready to reprove other men's faults than our own: but our Saviour he commandeth them to look home, to see to themselves. And this penance is the chiefest thing in all the scripture. John Baptist when he began to preach, his sermon was, *Penitentiam agite*, "Do penance;" so likewise Christ saith, *Penitentiam agite, et credite evangelio*, "Do penance, and believe the gospel." But wherein standeth the right penance, and what is penance? Answer, Penance is a turning from sin unto God, a waking up from this sleep of which St. Paul speaketh here. But

wherein consisteth this penance? The right penance consisteth in three points: the first is contrition, that is, I must acknowledge myself that I have transgressed God's most holy laws and commandments. I must confess myself to be faulty and guilty; I must be sorry for it, abhor myself and my wickedness. When I am now in that case; then I shall see nothing but hell and everlasting damnation before me, as long as I look upon myself and upon the law of God. For the law of God when it is preached bringeth us to the knowledge of our sins: for it is like as a glass which sheweth us the spots in our faces, that is, the sins in our hearts. But we may not tarry here only in the law and ourselves; for if we do, we shall come to desperation.

Therefore the first point is to acknowledge our sins, and to be sorry for the same; but, as I said before, we must not tarry here; for Judas was come so far, he had this point, he was, no doubt, a sorrowful man as any can be in the world. But it was to no purpose; he was lost for all his sorrowfulness: therefore we must have another point; what is that? Marry, faith, belief: we must believe Christ, we must know that our Saviour is come into this world to save sinners; therefore he is called Jesus, because "he shall save his people from their sins:" as the angel of God himself witnesseth. And this faith must not be only a general faith, but it must be a special faith; for the devil himself hath a general faith, he believeth that Christ is come into this world, and hath made a reconciliation between God and man; he knoweth that there shall be remission of our sins, but he believeth not that he shall have part of it; that his wickedness shall be forgiven unto him; this he believeth not; he hath but a general faith; but I say that every one of us must have a special faith: I must believe for myself, that his blood was shed for me. I must believe that when Christ saith, "Come to me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will ease you;" here I must believe that Christ calleth me unto him, that I should come and receive everlasting life at his hands. With such a special faith I do apply his passion unto me. In that prayer that our Saviour made when he was going to his death; "I pray not for them alone, saith he, but for them also which shall believe in me through their preaching, that

they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee ; and that they also may be one in us." So that Christ prayeth for us as well as for his apostles, if we believe in him ; and so Christ's prayer and our belief bringeth the salve unto our souls.

Therefore I ought to believe, and so through faith apply Christ's merits unto me : for God requireth a special faith of every one of us, as well as he did of David, when the prophet Nathan came unto him and said, *Abstulit Dominus peccatum tuum*, " The Lord hath taken away thy wickedness ;" which words of the prophet, David believed, and so according unto his belief it happened unto him. For David had not such a contrition or penance as Judas had : for Judas indeed had a contrition, he was sorry for his sins, but without faith. David was sorry for his sins, but he joined faith unto it ; he believed stedfastly without all doubting that God would be merciful unto him : " The Lord hath taken away thy sins ;" and God required of him that he should believe those words.

Now like as he required of David to believe his words, so also he requireth of us too, that we should believe him ; for like as David was remedied through his faith in God, so shall we be remedied too, if we believe as he did : and God will be as glad of us when we repent and leave our sins, as he was of David ; and will also that we should be partakers of the merits of Christ.

So ye have heard now these two points which pertain to the right penance : the first is contrition, when we acknowledge our sins, be sorry for them, they grieve us very sore. The second point is faith ; when we believe that God will be merciful unto us, and through his Son forgive us our wickedness, and not impute the same, to our eternal destruction. But yet there is another point left behind, which is this, that I must have an earnest purpose to leave sin, and to avoid all wickedness as far forth as I am able to do. I must wrestle with sin. I must not suffer the devil to have the victory over me : though he be very subtil and crafty, yet I must withstand him ; I must disallow his instinations, and suggestions. I must not suffer sin to bear rule over me : for no doubt if we will fight and strive, we may have the victory over this serpent, for Christ our Saviour hath promised unto us his help and

comfort : therefore St. James saith, *Resistite diabolo, et fugiet à vobis*, “ Withstand the devil, and he shall fly from you.” For at his first coming he is very weak ; so that we are able, if we will take heed and fight, to overcome him ; but if we suffer him to enter once, to possess our hearts, then he is very strong, so that he with great labour can scant be brought out again. For he entereth first by ill thoughts, then when he hath cast us in ill thoughts, if we withstand not by and by, followeth delectation ; if we suffer that, then cometh consenting ; and so from consenting to the very act : and afterward from one mischief unto another ; therefore it is a common saying, *Principiis obsta*, “ Resist the beginnings :” for when we suffer him once to enter, no doubt it is a perilous thing, we are then in jeopardy of everlasting death.

So ye have heard now wherein standeth right penance, first we must know and acknowledge our sins, be sorry for them, and lament them in our hearts. Then the second point is faith, we must believe that Christ will be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins, not impute them unto us. Thirdly, we must have an earnest purpose to leave all sins and wickedness, and no more commit the same. And then ever be persuaded in thy heart, that they that have a good-will, and an earnest mind to leave sin, that God will strengthen them, he will help them. But and if we by and by, at the first clap, give place unto the devil, and follow his mischievous suggestions, then we may be sure, that we highly displease God our heavenly Father, when we forsake him so soon. Therefore St. Paul saith, *Ne regnet igitur peccatum in vestro mortali corpore*, “ Let not sin bear rule in your mortal bodies :” be not led with sin, but fight against it. When we do so, it is impossible but we shall have help at God’s hand.

As touching confession ; I tell you that they that can be content with the general absolution which every minister of God’s word giveth in his sermons, when he pronounceth that all that be sorry for their sins, and believe in Christ, seek help and remedy by him, and afterward intend to amend their lives, and avoid sin and wickedness ; all these that be so minded shall have remission of their sins. Now, I say, they that can be content with this general absolution, it is well : but they that are not satisfied with it, they may go to some

godly learned minister which is able to instruct and comfort them with the word of God, to minister that same unto them to their contention and quieting of their consciences.

As for satisfaction, or absolution for our sins, there is none but in Christ; we cannot make amends for our sins but only by believing in him which suffered for us. For he hath made the amends for all our sins by his painful passion and blood-shedding. And herein standeth our absolution or remission of our sins; namely, when we believe in him, and look to be saved through his death; none other satisfaction are we able to make. But I tell you, that if any man hath stolen or purloined away somewhat from his neighbour, that man or woman ought to make restitution and amends. And this restitution is so necessary, that we shall not look for forgiveness of our sins at Christ's hand, except this restitution be made first: else the satisfaction of Christ will not serve us: for God will have us to restore, or make amends unto our neighbour, whom we have hurt, deceived, or have in any manner of ways taken from him wrongfully his goods, whatsoever it be.

By this now that I have said, ye may perceive what manner of sleeping is this of which St. Paul speaketh here, namely, the sleep of sin. When we live and spend our time in wickedness, then we sleep that deadly sleep which bringeth eternal damnation with it: and again, ye have heard how you shall rise up from that sleep, how ye shall fight and wrestle with sin, not suffer her to be the ruler over you. Let us therefore begin even now, while God giveth us so good and convenient a time; let us tarry no longer; let us awake from this deadly sleep of sin: it may well be called a deadly sleep, for this sleep of sin bringeth eternal death, and everlasting pains and sorrows: let us therefore rise to a godly life, and continue in the same till to the end.

These things St. Paul speaketh generally to all men, and against all manner of sins; but now he cometh to specialties. And first he sheweth what we shall not do, then afterward he telleth us what we shall do: "Not in eating and drinking, neither in chambering and wantonness, neither in strife and envying." I marvel that the English is so translated, "In eating and drinking :" the Latin Exemplar hath "*Non in com-*

messionibus ;” that is to say, “ Not in too much eating and drinking :” for no doubt God alloweth eating and drinking; so that it be done measurably and thankfully.

In the beginning of the world, before God punished the world with the flood, when he destroyed all mankind and beasts, save only Noah that good father: in the beginning, I say, mankind eat nothing but herbs, and roots, and sallets, and such gear as they could get: but after the flood, God gave unto mankind liberty to eat all manner of clean beasts, all that had life, be it fish or flesh. And this was done for this cause, that the earth was not so fruitful, nor brought forth so wholesome herbs after the flood, as she did before the flood: therefore God allowed unto man all manner of meat, be it fish or flesh; yet it must be done measurably. But seeing I have occasion to speak of eating, I will entreat somewhat of it, and tell you what liberties we have by God’s word.

Truly we be allowed by God’s word to eat all manner of meat, be it fish or flesh, that be eatable. But ye must understand that there be certain hedges, over which we ought not to leap ; but rather keep ourselves within those same hedges. Now the first hedge is this, *Carnem cum sanguine ne comederitis*, “ Ye shall not eat the flesh with the blood;” that is to say, we shall not eat raw flesh: for if we should be allowed to eat raw flesh, it should engender in us a certain cruelty, so that at the length one should eat another; and so all the writers expound this place: so that God forbiddeth here that mankind, or man’s flesh may not be eaten.

We read in the books of the Kings, and so likewise in Josephus, that certain women had eaten their own children, at the time when Jerusalem was besieged: which thing no doubt displeased God, and they did naughtily in so doing. For mankind may not be eaten: therefore the first hedge is, that we must abstain from raw flesh, and so likewise from man’s flesh; one may not eat another. Neither yet we may shed blood of private authority; a man may not kill another, but the magistrate he hath the sword committed unto him from God; he may shed blood when he seeth cause why; he may take away the wicked from amongst the people, and punish him according unto his doing or deserving.

Now will ye say, I perceive when I eat not raw flesh, or man's flesh, then I may eat all manner of flesh, or fish, howsoever I can get it. But I tell thee, my frietid, not so; you may not eat your neighbour's sheep, or steal his fishes out of his pool and eat them; ye may not do so, for there is a hedge made for that. God saith, *non facies furtum*, "Thou shalt do no theft:" here am I hedged in, so that I may not eat my neighbour's meat, but it must be my own meat; I must have gotten it uprightly, or else by buying, or else by inheritance, or else that it be given unto me: I may not steal it from my neighbour; when I leap over this hedge, then I sin damnably.

Now then ye will say, so it be my own, then I may eat of it as much as I will. No, not so; there is another hedge; I may not commit gluttony with my own meat; for so it is written, *Attendite vobis à crapulâ et ebrietate*, "Take heed of gluttony and drunkenness." Here is a hedge; we may not eat too much; for when we do, we displease God highly. So ye see that we may not eat of our own meat as much as we would, but rather we must keep a measure; for it is a great sin to abuse or waste the gifts of God, and to play the glutton with it.

When one man consumeth as much as would serve three or four, that is an abominable thing before God; for God giveth us his creatures, not to abuse them, but to use them to our necessity and need: let every one therefore have a measure, and let no man abuse the gifts of God. One man sometimes eateth more than another; we are not all alike: but for all that we ought to keep us within this hedge, that is, to take no more than sufficeth our nature; for they that abuse the gifts of God, no doubt they greatly displease God by so doing. For it is an ill-favoured thing when a man eateth or drinketh too much at a time. Sometimes indeed it happeneth that a man drinketh too much; but every good and godly man will take heed to himself when he once hath taken too much, he will beware afterward.

We read in scripture of Noah, that good man, which was the first that planted vineyards after the flood: he was once drunken, before he knew the strength and the nature of wine, and so lay in his tent uncovered: now one of his sons, whose name was Cham, seeing his father lying naked, went and

told his brethren of it, and so made a mocking stock of his father. Therefore Noah when he arose and had digested his wine, and knowing what his son had done unto him, cursed him: but we read not that Noah was drunken afterward at any time more. (Gen. ix.). Therefore if ye have been drunken at any time, take heed henceforward, and leave off; abuse not the good creatures of God.

Now then ye will say, if I take them measurably then I may eat all manner of meat at all times, and every where. No, not so; there is another hedge behind; ye must have a respect to your own conscience, and to your neighbour's. For I may eat no manner of meat against my conscience, neither may I eat my meat in presence of my neighbour, whereby he might be offended; for I ought to have respect unto him, as St. Paul plainly sheweth, saying, "I know and am assured by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself, but unto him that judgeth it to be common, to him it is common: if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably; destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died:" (Rom. xiv.) As for an ensample. When I should come into the north country, where they be not taught, and there I should call for my eggs on a Friday or for flesh, then I should do naughtily: for I should destroy him for whom Christ did suffer. Therefore I must beware that I offend no man's conscience, but rather travail with him first, and shew him the truth: when my neighbour is taught, and knoweth the truth, and will not believe it, but will abide by his old *Mumpsimus*, then I may eat, not regarding him: for he is an obstinate fellow, he will not believe God's word. And though he be offended with me, yet it is but a pharisaical offence, like as the Pharisees were offended with Christ our Saviour: the fault was not in Christ, but in themselves. So, I say, I must have a respect to my neighbour's conscience, and then to my own conscience. But yet there is another hedge behind; that is, civil laws, the king's statutes and ordinances, which are God's laws: forasmuch as we ought to obey them as well as God's laws and commandments.

St. Paul saith, "Let every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher power; for there is no power but it is of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Who-

soever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: but they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation." (Rom. xiii.). Now therefore; we dwell in a realm, where it hath pleased the king's majesty to make an act, that all his subjects shall abstain from flesh upon Fridays and Saturdays, and other days which are expressed in the act: unto which law we ought to obey, and that for conscience sake, except we have a privilege, or be excepted by the same law. And although scripture commandeth me not to abstain from flesh upon Fridays and Saturdays; yet for all that, seeing there is a civil law and ordinance made by the king's majesty, and his most honourable council, we ought to obey all their ordinances, except they be against God.

These be the hedges wherein we must keep ourselves. Therefore I desire you in God's behalf, consider what I have said unto you, how ye shall order yourselves, how ye shall not eat raw flesh; that is, ye shall not be cruel towards your neighbour: *item*, you shall not steal your meat from your neighbour, but let it be your own meat, and then ye shall take of it measurably: also, ye shall not offend your neighbour's conscience: *item*, ye shall keep you within the laws of the realm.

Now to the matter again. St. Paul saith, we shall take heed of too much eating and drinking. And I have shewed you, how ye shall keep you within the hedges which are appointed in God's laws. Let us therefore take heed now, and let us rise up from the sleep of sin: whatsoever we have done before, let us rise up now, while we have time; every man go into his own heart, and there when he findeth any thing amiss, let him rise up from that sleep, and tarry not in it; if thou remain lying, thou shalt repent it everlastingily.

"Neither in chambering and wantonness." Beware of St. Paul's *nots* and *nons*. For when he saith *non*, we cannot make it *yea*: if we do contrary to his sayings, we shall repent it. Beware therefore of chambering. What is this? Marry, he understandeth by this word chambering, all manner of wantonness. I will not tarry long in rehearsing them, let every man and woman go into his own conscience, and let them consider, that God requireth honesty in all things. St. Paul useth this word chambering; for when folks will be wanton, they get

themselves in corners ; but for all that, God, he seeth them, he will find them out one day, they cannot hide themselves from his face. I will speak no farther of it, for with honesty no man can speak of such vile vices ; and St. Paul commandeth us that we shall not speak any vile words : therefore by this word chambering, understand the circumstances of whoredom and lechery, and filthy living, which St. Paul forbiddeth here, and would have that nobody should give occasion unto the other to such filthiness.

“ Neither in strife, nor envying.” Envy is a foul and abominable vice, which vice doth more harm unto him that envieth another, than unto him which is envied.

King Saul he had this spirit of envy, therefore he had never rest day nor night, he could not abide when any man spake well of David : and this spirit of envying is more directly against charity than any other sin is. For St. Paul saith, *Charitas non invidet*, “ Charity envieth not :” therefore take it so, that he that envieth another is no child of God : all his works, whatsoever he doeth, are the devil’s service ; he pleaseth God with nothing as long as he is an envious person. Who would be so mad now, as to be in such an estate, that he would suffer the devil to bear so much rule over him ? No wise nor godly man will be in this estate. For it is an ill estate to be out of the favour of God, to be without remission of sin. Therefore whosoever is an envious man, let him rise up from that sleep, lest he be taken suddenly, and so be damned everlastingly.

Now ye have heard what we shall not do ; we shall not too much eat and drink, and so abuse the gifts of God ; we shall not have pleasure in chambering, that is, in wantonness ; neither shall we be envious persons, for when we be, we be out of charity, and so be out of the favour of God.

Now followeth what we should do ; “ But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ.” Every man and woman ought to put on Christ : and all they that have that apparel on their backs, they are well, nothing can hurt them, neither heat nor cold, nor wind nor rain.

Here I might have occasion to speak against this excess of apparel, which is used now every where, which thing is disallowed in scripture. There be some that will be conformable unto others, they will do as others do, but they consider not

with themselves, whether others do well or not. There be laws made and certain statutes, how every one in his estate shall be apparelled, but God knoweth the statutes are not put in execution. St. Paul he commandeth us to put on Christ, to leave these gorgeous apparels; he that is decked with Christ he is well; and first we be decked with Christ in our baptism, where we promise to forsake the devil with all his works.

Now when we keep this promise, and leave wickedness, and do that which Christ our Saviour requireth of us, then we be decked with him, then we have the wedding garment, and though we be very poor, and have but a russet coat, yet we are well, when we are decked with him.

There be a great many which go very gay in velvet and satin; but for all that, I fear they have not Christ upon them, for all their gorgeous apparel. I say not this to condemn rich men or their riches; for no doubt poor and rich may have Christ upon them, if they will follow him and live as he commandeth them to live. For if we have Christ upon us, we will not make provision for the flesh, we will not set our hearts upon these worldly trifles, to get riches to cherish this body withal. As we read of the rich man in the gospel, who thought he had enough for many years, he had pulled down his old barns, and had set up new ones which were bigger than the other; and when all things were ready after his mind and pleasure, then he said to himself; "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." But what saith God unto him? "Thou fool, (saith God,) this night they will fetch away thy soul again from thee, then whose shall these things be which thou hast provided?" "So it is with him that gathereth riches to himself, and is not rich toward God." (Luke xii.)

I will not say otherwise but a man may make provision for his house, and ought to make the same; but to make such provision to set aside God's word and serving of him, this is naught; to set the heart so upon the riches, as though there were no heaven nor hell: how can we be so foolish to set so much by this world, knowing that it shall endure but a little while? For we know by scripture, and all learned men affirm the same, that the world was made to endure six thousand years. Now of these six thousand, be passed already five thousand five

hundred and fifty-two, and yet this time which is left shall be shortened for the elect's sake, as Christ himself witnesseth.

Therefore let us remember that the time is very short, let us study to amend our lives, let us not be so careful for this world, for the end of it no doubt is at hand ; and though the general day come not by and by, yet our end will not be far off, death will come one day and strip us out of our coat, he will take his pleasure of us. It is a marvellous thing to see, there be some which have lived in this world forty or fifty years, and yet they lack time ; when death cometh they be not ready. But I will require you for God's sake, rise up from your sleep of sin and wickedness ; make yourselves ready, set all things in an order, so that ye may be ready whensoever death shall come and fetch you ; for die we must, there is no remedy ; we must leave one day this world ; for we are not created of God to the end that we should abide here always.

Therefore let us repent betime of our wicked life, for God will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he shall turn from his wickedness and live. *Vivo ego, nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur, et vivat,* “ As truly as I live, saith God, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he shall turn from his wickedness and live.” (Ezek. xviii.) These are most comfortable words ; for now we may be sure, that when we will leave our sins and wickedness, and turn unto him with all our hearts earnestly, then he will turn himself unto us, and will shew himself a loving father. And to the intent that we should believe this, he sweareth an oath ; we ought to believe God without an oath, yet he sweareth to make us more surer. What will he have us to do ? Marry, to rise up from this sleep of sin, to leave wickedness, to forsake all hatred, and malice, that we have had towards our neighbours, to turn from envyng, from stealing, and make restitution : from slothfulness, to diligence and painfulness, from gluttony and drunkenness, to soberness and abstinence, from chambering and filthy living, to an honest and pure life. And so finally from all kinds of vices, to virtue and godliness. And whatsoever hath been in times past, to be sorry for it, cry God mercy, and believe in Christ, and rise up from sleep ; do no more wickedly, but live as God would have thee to live.

Now I will bring in here a notable sentence, and a comfort.

able saying; and then I will make an end. *Justitia justi, non liberabit ipsum, in qua cunque die peccaverit; et impietas impiorum non nocebit ei in qua cunque: die conversus fuerit ab impietate sua,* “The righteousness of the righteous shall not save him, whosoever he turneth away unfaithfully.” Again, “the wickedness of the wicked shall not hurt him, whosoever he turneth from his ungodliness. And the righteousness of the righteous shall not save him whosoever he sinneth. If I say unto the righteous that he shall surely live; and so he trusteth to his own righteousness, and doth sin, then shall his righteousness be no more thought upon, but in the wickedness that he hath done he shall die.

“Again, if I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, and so he turn from his sins, and doth the thing that is lawful and right: then he shall surely live:” (Ezek. xviii.), that is to say, all his sins which he hath done before shall not hurt him. Here ye hear what promises God hath made us, when we will rise from the sleep of our sins, and leave the affections of the flesh, and do such things as he hath appointed unto us in his laws; if we do so, then we shall surely live and not die: that is to say, we shall attain after this corporal life to everlasting life; which grant us God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

THE SERMON,

PREACHED

UPON SAINT ANDREW'S DAY, 1552.

BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

MATTHEW, iv. 18, 19, 20.

As Jesus walked by the sea of Galilee he saw two brethren, Simon which was called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea, for they were fishers: and he said unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men; and they straightway left their nets and followed him.

THIS is the gospel which is read in the church this day: and it sheweth unto us how our Saviour called four persons to his company: namely, Peter and Andrew, James and John, which were all fishers by their occupation. This was their general vocation: but now Christ our Saviour called them to a more special vocation. They were fishers still, but they fished no more for fish in the water, but they must fish for men, with the net which was prepared to this purpose, namely, with the gospel, for the gospel is the net wherewith the Apostles fished after they came to Christ, but specially after his departing out of this world: then they went and fished throughout the whole world.

And of these fishers was spoken a great while ago by the prophet, for so it is written, *Ecce ego mittam piscatores multos, dicit Dominus, et piscabuntur eos, et post haec mittam eis venatores multos, et venabuntur eos de omni monte et de omni colle et de cavernis petrarum,* “Behold, saith the Lord, I will send out many fishers to take them, and after that will I send hunters to hunt them out from all mountains and hills, and out of the caves of stone.” (Jer. xvi.) By these words God signified by his prophets, how those fishers, that is, the apostles, should preach the gospel, and take the

people therewith, that is, all they that should believe, and so bring them to God. It is commonly seen that fishers and hunters be very painful people both, they spare no labour to catch their game; because they be so desirous and so greedy over their game, that they care not for pains.

Therefore our Saviour chose fishers, because of these properties, that they should be painful and spare no labour, and then that they should be greedy to catch men, and to take them with the net of God's word, to turn the people from wickedness unto God. Ye see by daily experience, what pain fishers and hunters take; how the fisher watcheth day and night at his net, and is ever ready to take all such fishes that he can get, and come in his way. So likewise the hunter runneth hither and thither after his game, leapeth over hedges, and creepeth through rough bushes; and all this labour he esteemeth for nothing, because he is so desirous to obtain his prey, and catch his venison.

So all our prelates, bishops, and curates, parsons and vicars should be so painful, so greedy in casting their nets; that is to say, in preaching God's word, in shewing unto the people the way to everlasting life, in exhorting them to leave their sins and wickedness. This ought to be done of them, for thereunto they be called of God; such a charge they have. But the most part of them set nowadays aside this fishing, they put away this net, they take other business in hand: they will rather be surveyors or receivers, or clerks in the kitchen, than to cast out this net: they have the living of fishers, but they fish not, they are otherways occupied. But it should not be so: God will plague and most heinously punish them for so doing. They shall be called to make account one day, where they shall not be able to make answer for their misbehaviours, for not casting out this net of God's word, for suffering the people to go to the devil, and they call them not again, they admonish them not; their perishing grieveth them not; but the day will come when they shall repent from the bottom of their hearts, but then it will be too late: then they shall receive their well-deserved punishment for their negligence and slothfulness, for taking their living of the people, and not teaching them.

The evangelists speak diversly of the calling of these four

men, Peter, Andrew, James, and John. Matthew saith, that “Jesus called them, and they immediately left their nets, and followed him.” Luke saith, that our Saviour “stood by the lake of Genezareth, and there he saw two ships standing by the lake side, and he entered in one of these ships, which was Peter’s, and desired him that he would thrust it a little from the land: and so he taught the people; and after that, when he had made an end of speaking, he said to Simon Peter, Cast out thy net in the deep: and Simon answered, we have laboured all night and have taken nothing; nevertheless at thy commandment I will loose forth the net: and when they had cast it out, they enclosed a great multitude of fishes. Now Peter seeing such a multitude of fishes, was beyond himself, and fell down at Jesus’s knees, saying, Lord, go from me, for I am a sinful man; for he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken. And there were also James and John the sons of Zebedee. And Jesus said unto Peter, Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men: and they brought the ships to land, and forsook all, and followed him.”

So ye hear how Luke describeth this story, in what manner of ways Christ called them, and though he make no mention of Andrew, yet it was like that he was amongst them too, with Peter, John, and James. The evangelist John in the first chapter describeth this matter of another manner of ways, but it pertaineth all to one end, and to one effect: for it was most like, that they were called first to come in acquaintance with Christ, and afterwards to be his disciples, and so in the end to be his apostles, which should teach and instruct the whole world.

John the evangelist saith, that “Andrew was a disciple of John Baptist: and when he had seen his master point to Christ with his finger, saying, *Ecce Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi*, “Lo the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.” (They used in the law to offer lambs for the pacifying of God, now John called Christ the right lamb which should take away indeed all the sins of the world.) Now when Andrew heard whereunto Christ was come, he forsook his master John, and came to Christ, and fell in acquaintance with him, asked him where he dwelled, and finding his brother

Simon Peter, he told him of Christ, and brought him to him ; he brought him not to John, but to Christ : and so should we do too, we should bring to Christ as many as we could, with good exhortations and admonitions.

Now Christ seeing Peter, said unto him, "Thou art Simon the son of Jonas, thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, a stone ;" signifying that Peter should be a stedfast fellow ; not wavering hither and thither. So ye see how diversly the evangelists speak of the calling of these four apostles, Peter, Andrew, James, and John : therefore it is like they were called more than one time ; they were called first to come in acquaintance with him, then afterward to be his disciples, and so at the last to be his apostles, and teachers of the whole world. For we read in the gospel of St. Luke, that our Saviour, when he would choose apostles which should teach others, he continued a whole night in prayer, desiring God to give him worthy men which he might send. Where we have a good monition, how careful they should be that ought to choose men and set them in offices ; how they should call upon God, that they might have worthy men. For it appeared by our Saviour, that he was very loth to have unworthy men ; insomuch that he ceased not all night to cry unto God, that he might have worthy men, which he might send ; and such men as might be able to tell the truth, and when they had done, to stand unto it.

For when a preacher preacheth the truth, but afterward is fearful, and dare not stand unto it, is afraid of men, this preacher shall do but little good ; or when he preacheth the truth, and is a wicked liver, after that he hath done, this man shall do but little good ; he shall not edify, but rather destroy, when his words are good, and his living contrary unto the same.

Therefore I would wish of God, that all they that should choose officers, would give themselves most earnestly to prayer ; desiring God, that they may choose such men as may do good in the commonwealth, amongst the flock of God : and I would wish, that there should be none other officers, but such as be called thereunto lawfully ; for no man ought to seek for promotions, to bear rule, to be an officer ; but we should tarry our vocation till God call us, we should have a calling of God. But it is to be lamented how inordinately all

things be done. For I fear me that there hath been but very few offices in England but they have been either bought or sold : for I have heard say many times, that some paid great sums of money for their offices. No man can persuade me, that these men intend to do good in the commonwealth, which buy their offices : for they intend to get that money again which they have laid out, and afterward to scrape for purchasing. But such ambitious men that offer themselves they should be refused, they should not be suffered to live in a commonwealth ; for they be ambitious and covetous. We read that Jethro Moses's father-in-law gave unto Moses counsel to choose men to offices, and that same counsel that Jethro gave was God's counsel ; God spake by the mouth of Jethro.

Now what saith Jethro, or God by Jethro, what manner of men would he choose to offices, to serve the commonwealth ? " Thou shalt seek out, saith Jethro, amongst all the people, men of activity, and such as fear God ; true men, hating covetousness, and make them heads over the people, &c." (Exod. xviii). Jethro, would not have him to take those which offer themselves, or which buy their offices with money and fair speaking: no, no ; he would none of that gear, he would not have such fellows. But I pray you, how many officers are sought out nowadays ? I think but very few, the most part offer themselves before they be called ; but it should not be so : justices of peace, sheriffs, and other officers, they should be sought out, they should be called thereunto ; they should not come before they be sent for.

Now when they be sought out, what manner of men should they be ? Marry, " men of activity ;" that is to say, men of knowledge and understanding, which be able to execute that office, and " such as fear God :" for no doubt he must have the fear of God in his heart that shall be an officer ; or else he shall never well execute his office ; he shall soon be corrupted with gifts or rewards. Further, he must be " a true man ;" such a one whom a man may trust by his words : he must be his word's master ; he may not be a dissembler, a liar, or a false dealer. And last of all, he must be a hater of covetousness ; he must first be a man of activity and knowledge ; a man that feareth God, a true man, and a man which hateth covetousness : he must not only not be covetous, but he must be a hater of covetousness.

Now when he must hate covetousness, then he must needs be far off from that foul vice of covetousness, and immoderate desire to have goods. This is the duty of every officer; so he shall be disposed before he be admitted thereunto; but whether they be so or not, let others judge: it is seen by daily experience what they be, a great part of them. I fear me, that if Jethro should see them, their doings would mislike him; he would say, These are not such men as I have appointed; but it is no matter, though Jethro see them not, God he seeth them, which will reward them according to their deserts.

And so likewise they that be of the spirituality, the clergymen, they must not run themselves, they must tarry till they be called; they must not flatter for benefices, and therefore the king and his most honourable council must take heed, and not set up those which call themselves: for no doubt they that call themselves intend not to do good, nor to profit the people, but only they seek to feed themselves, and to fill their coffers. And so likewise all patrons that have to give benefices, they should take heed and beware of such fellows, which seek for benefices, which come themselves before they be called. For such fellows intend not to feed the people with the wholesome doctrine of the word of God; but rather they seek to be fed of the people, to have their ease, for that they look for: if they were minded to do good unto the people of God, they would tarry till God should call them; and then, when they be called, do their duties; but to run without the calling of God, is a manifest token that they have another respect; that they are worldly-minded: and therefore God complaineth by the prophet, saying, *Multi currebant quos ego non mittebam,* "There were many of those that ran before I sent them, which were not sent by me." (Jer. iii.)

Therefore I will desire patrons to take heed upon what manner of men they bestow their benefices, for it is a great charge, a great burthen before God to be a patron. For every patron when he doth not diligently endeavour himself to place a good and godly man in his benefice which is in his hands; but is slothful, and careth not what manner of man he taketh; or else is covetous, and will have it himself, and hire a Sir John Lack-Latin, which shall say service, so that the people shall be nothing edified; no doubt that patron shall make

answer before God, for not doing of his duty. And look how many soever perish in that same parish because of lack of teaching, the patron is guilty of them ; and he must make answer for them before God. Therefore it appeareth most manifestly, that patrons may not follow friendships, or other affections : but they must see that God's honour be promoted, that they place such men as may be able to teach and instruct the people.

Now to the matter. These men, Peter, Andrew, James, and John, they were called from catching of fishes, to the catching of men : they had a calling, they ran not before they were called ; but we do not so, we order the matter as though God saw us not, and no doubt there be some that think in their hearts, " What, shall I tarry till God call me ? Then peradventure I shall never be called, and so I shall never get any thing." But these be unfaithful men ; they consider not that God seeth us every where : in what corner soever we be, God seeth us, and can fetch us when it pleaseth him, that we should be officers, or be curates, or such like things.

Therefore, thou runner, tarry till thou art called, run not before the time. John Baptist, that holy man, he would not take upon to come before he was bidden. Where was he ? Marry, in the wilderness, he made no suit, I warrant you, for any office, he tarried till God called him : for Luke saith, " The word of the Lord came unto John, being in the wilderness." It is no marvel that God fetched him out of the wilderness, for there is no corner in the whole world where any man can hide himself from his presence : therefore when he will have a man, he can call him, though he be hid in corners ; for the prophet saith, *Deus in altis habitat, sed humilia respicit*, " God dwelleth aloft, but yet he seeth those things which be here in the lowest parts of the earth : he dwelleth in heaven, but for all that, he overseeth all the whole earth, and what therein is." (Ps. cxiii.) For though we were cast down in a deep pit, or dungeon, as Jeremy the prophet was, yet for all that he can see us, he will not forget us ; for he looketh down upon those things that be below.

Therefore let no man think in his heart, I must put myself forward, I must seek to bring myself aloft. No, no ; consider rather, that God seeketh thee, that he can bring thee

aloft when it pleaseth him, when it is to the furtherance of his glory, and to the salvation of thy soul. John Baptist made no suit for that office, namely, to be a preacher, and to baptize the people ; yet for all that God sought him out, God called him thereunto ; God would have him in this office of preaching. So likewise Joseph, when he was in Egypt, sold of his own brethren, where he served with a great man, a great officer he was, Potiphar was his name : now when he had been a while with him, his mistress perceiving his beauty, cast her love upon him, and so would have him to be naught with her : but Joseph being a man that feared God, would not follow her, but rather withstood her beastly lusts, ran his ways, and left his cloke behind him ; and so afterward, through false accusations, he was cast into prison. Think ye now that God saw him not ? Yes, yes, he saw him ; though he was in the dark prison, yet he saw him. For when it seemed him good, he brought him out again of the prison, and made him lord and ruler over all Egypt ; though he lay in a dungeon, though he could make no suit for his office, yet God, when it pleased him, could call him thereunto. Therefore let us learn here, by the ensample of this good Joseph ; let us learn, I say, that when we be meet, and that God will have us to bear offices, he will call us thereunto by lawful means, by his magistrates, he will not forget us, for he seeth us in every corner, he can pick us out when it is his will and pleasure.

Moses, that great friend of God, what was his occupation ? Marry, he was a shepherd, he kept his father-in-law's sheep ; and though he was in a great wilderness, where there was no body about him, yet it pleased God to call him, and to make him a captain over his people Israel. And this Moses was very loth to go to take such a great charge upon him ; yet at the length he went, because it was the calling of God.

Therefore let us follow this ensample of Moses, let us not take in hand any office, except we be called thereunto of God ; except we have a lawful calling. Our Saviour commandeth his disciples, and also us, that we shall “ pray unto God, that he will send labourers into his harvest ;” that is to say, that he will send preachers. Whereby it appeareth, that our Sa-

viour would that no person should take upon him that office, except he be sent of God, except God call him thereunto.

King Saul, though he was a wicked man in his end, yet he was made a great king of God; for what was his father? No very great man I tell you; and Saul his son went to seek his father's asses, and so by chance, because he could not find the asses, he came to the prophet Samuel, which by and by, before he departed from him, anointed him to be King over Israel: God commanding him so to do.

Now this Saul he seeketh not for it, it came never in his heart to think that he should be king; insomuch that he hideth himself when Samuel would proclaim him king, before the whole congregation: yet for all that, he could not hide himself so, but God sprieth him out, and so finally brought him to the kingdom.

Here ye see most manifestly that when God will have a thing to be done, he can find such means, whereby it must needs be done. Wherefore should now any of us go about to thrust ourselves into offices, without the calling of God. And no doubt they that do so, shew themselves to have no faith in God at all, they trust not God, they think they shall bring all matters to pass by their own power and wits: but it is seen that such fellows speed ever ill, that will take in hand to exalt themselves, without any lawful calling.

David, that godly man and holy prophet of God, what was he? Marry, a keeper of sheep: he thought not that he should be king, till he was called thereunto of God. But, I pray you, what was Jonas the prophet? Was he not in the bottom of the great sea, in the belly of a great and horrible whale? What happened unto him? Saw not God him? Yes, yes, he saw him; he had not forgotten him, he called him out again, and so sendeth him to Nineveh, to preach unto them, and teach them penance, to leave their sinful life. Now God would have him to that office, therefore he called him; and was able to do it, though he lay even in the horrible fish's belly.

Now therefore let us well consider this, that when God will have a man to bear an office, he can and is able to fetch him, wheresoever he be; and that man that is so called of God to

any office, no doubt God will work with him ; he will prosper all his doings, he will defend him from all his enemies, he will not let him perish. But and if any man take in hand an office whereunto he is not called ; no doubt that man shall have no good luck ; God will not prosper him. And not only that, but he will extremely punish that man that will take in hand an office whereunto he is not called of God ; which seeketh promotions, or goeth about to promote himself : as we have an example in the book of Numbers, that when Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, would not be content with their vocation, whereunto they were called of God, but would climb higher and promote themselves, what happened ? The ground clave asunder, and swallowed them up, with wife and children, and all that they had ; this was their end, this reward they had for their ambition. Whereby it appeareth that God will that every man shall keep himself in his vocation, till he be further called of God. We read further in the books of the kings, that when David would bring in the ark of God into his city, as they were going with it, there was one Uzza by name, he fearing lest the ark should fall, because the oxen stumbled, went and held it up with his hands which was against his vocation, for he was not appointed thereunto, for it was the office of the Levites to keep the ark, nobody else should come near unto it. Now what happened ? God struck him by and by to death, because he took upon him an office, unto which he was not called. Yet, after man's reason, this Uzza had done a good work in keeping the ark from falling ; but what then ? God will that his order shall be kept, which he hath appointed in his word.

Further, we read in the bible of a king who was called Uzziah, which would take upon him the office of a priest, to offer incense unto the Lord, whereunto he was not called of God, but would do it of his own voluntary will, would promote himself to the office of the high priest, being not called of God thereunto. But what followed ? How sped he ? What reward had he for so doing ? Whilst he was yet about it, the Lord smote him by and by with leprosy, and so this great king endured a leper all the days of his life. (2 Chron. vi.)

These be ensamples now which should make us afraid, if

we had any fear of God in our hearts, to promote ourselves. And we should learn here to beware of that pestilent poison of ambition, (which ambition, I say,) hath been the cause of the perishing of many a man: for this ambition is the most perilous thing that can be in the world. For an ambitious man is able to subvert and disturb a whole commonwealth: As it most plainly appeared by the Rhodians; which Rhodians at our time were very mighty, and of great estimation through all the world. Now what was their destruction? Marry, ambition, through ambition this mighty island of the Rhodes was lost, and came into the hands of the Turks. For the Chronicle sheweth, that before their destruction, when all things were well yet, the grand master of Rhodes died. Now there was one called Andrew, admiral, a Portingale, he desired to be grand master; he was an ambitious man, he went about to promote himself, before he was called of God: but for all that, he missed his purpose, so that he was not chosen: for there was one chosen whom they call Phillip de Villers. But what doth this Andrew? because he could not bring his purpose to pass, he sendeth letters to the great Turk, signifying, that when he would come, he would help him to get the island; which afterwards he did: but yet it cost him his life, for his treason was espied, and so he received a reward according unto his doings.

So ye may perceive by this ensample which was done in our time, how ungracious a thing this ambition is; for no doubt where there is ambition, there is division; where there is division, there followeth desolation; and so finally destruction: even according unto our Saviour's saying; " Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be brought to nought; and every city or house divided against itself, shall not stand," &c.

Well, Andrew, Peter, James, and John, were not ambitious, they tarried their calling; so I would wish that every man would follow their ensamples, and tarry for their vocation, and not thrust themselves in, till they be called of God. For no doubt vocation hath no fellow; for he that cometh by the calling of God to an office, he may be sure that his adversaries shall not prevail against him, as long as he doth the office of his calling. An ensample we have in our Saviour, he was sent from God into this world, to teach us the way to

heaven. Now in what peril and danger was he, as long as he was here? When he began to preach at Nazareth amongst his kinsfolks, he displeased them so, that they went and took him, and were minded to cast him headlong from the rock, whereupon their city was builded; but when it came to the point, he went away from amongst them, because his hour was not come yet: he had not yet fulfilled or executed that office whereunto God had sent him. (Luke iv.).

So likewise we read by the Evangelist John, that the Jews many a time took up stones to stone him, but they could not. (John x.). And how many times sent they their men to take him, yet for all that they could not prevail against him. And these things are not written for Christ's sake, but for our sake, that we should learn thereby, that when we do diligently our office whereunto God hath called us, then no doubt our enemies shall as little prevail against us, as they prevailed against Christ; for God will be as careful for us as he was for Christ. And this appeareth most manifestly in the Apostle Paul: I pray you in what danger and peril was he? How mighty and strong enemies had he, which took in hand to rid him out of the way? Yet for all that, God delivered him. Wherfore? Marry, because Paul was called, and ordained of God to that office: and therefore God ever delivered him out of all troubles, because Paul did according unto his calling.

Peter, when Herod that tyrant had killed James with the sword, and cast him into prison, so that he thought he should die by and by, yet God delivered him wonderfully. And no doubt this is not written for Peter's sake, but also to our comfort, so that we shall be sure, that when we follow our vocation, being lawfully come by it, God will aid and assist us in all our troubles; whatsoever shall happen unto us, he will be present and help us. Therefore take this for a certain rule, that no man with following of his vocation, and doing his duty, shall shorten his life; for it is not the following of our vocation that shall shorten our life.

We read in the gospel, that when Christ saith unto his disciples, "Let us go up into Jewry again;" his disciples made answer unto him, saying, "Master, the Jews sought lately to stone thee, and wilt thou go thither again? Jesus answered, Are there not twelve hours of the day? If a man walketh

in the day, he stumbleth not: but if a man walketh in the night he stumbleth, because there is no light in him." (John xi.) With these words our Saviour signifieth, that he that walketh in the day, that is to say, he that walketh truly and uprightly in his vocation whereunto God hath called him, that man shall not stumble, he shall not shorten his life, till the twelfth hour cometh; that is to say, till it pleaseth God to take him out of this world. He shall be sure that he shall not shorten his life in doing that thing which God hath appointed him to do.

I pray God give unto us such hearts, that we may be content to live in our calling, and not to gape further. And first, we must walk in the general vocation; and after that, when God calleth us, leave the general calling, and follow the special: if we would walk so, we should be sure that our enemy should not prevail against us: and though we die, yet our death shall be nothing else, but an entrance into everlasting life.

Again, we shall be sure, that if we will follow our vocations, we shall lack nothing, we shall have all things necessary to our bodily sustenance. And this appeareth by many examples. When our Saviour sendeth out those seventy men before him to preach the gospel, having no money in their purses, nor any thing whereupon to live; when they came home again, he asked them, whether they had lacked any thing? they said, No. For they did as Christ had commanded unto them, therefore they lacked nothing: and so it followeth, that they that will follow their vocations shall lack nothing.

Jacob, that holy patriarch, had a vocation to go into Mesopotamia, for his father and mother commanded him to do so, because they feared lest Esau his brother should have killed him. Now when he went thither, he confessed that he had nothing but a staff upon his back; but following his calling, God brought him again with great droves of all manner of cattle. These things are written for our sake, to make us lusty to follow our vocation, and to do as we are appointed of God to do. Further, when the people of Israel were in the wilderness, they had a vocation; for God commanded Moses to bring them out of Egypt: now he brought them in the

wilderness, where there was no corn, nor any thing to live upon ; what doth God ? he sendeth them bread from heaven, rather than they should lack ; and water out of the rock. And this is written to our instruction.

Therefore God saith, *Non solo pane*, “ Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God,” (Deut. viii. Matt. iv.) For whosoever a man applieth that vocation which God hath appointed for him, no doubt he shall not be disappointed of living, he shall have enough. Therefore our Saviour Christ saith, *Querite primo regnum Dei, et justitiam ejus, et cetera omnia adi- cipientur vobis*, “ Seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all the other things shall be ministered unto you.” (Matt. vi.) That is to say, let us live godly as he hath appointed unto us : as for other things, *jacta super Domi- num curam et ipse faciet*, “ Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he will make it ;” (1 Pet. v.) he will finish all things, for he is able to make a good end of all matters : therefore, saith the prophet, *timete Dominum, omnes sancti ejus*, “ Fear the Lord, all ye his saints : ” *Non est inopia timentibus eum*, “ They that fear the Lord, they shall not come to any poverty.” (Psal. xxxiv.) Alack, what a pitiful thing is it, that we will not believe these fatherly promises which God hath made unto us in his word ? What a great sin is it to mistrust God’s promises ? For to mistrust his promises, is as much as to make him a liar ; when we will not believe him.

Every man hath his vocation ; as these men here were fishers, so every man hath his faculty wherein he was brought up : but and if there come a special vocation; then we must leave that vocation which we have had before, and apply that whereunto we be called specially, as these apostles did : they were fishers, but as soon as they were called to another vocation, they left their fishings. But ever remember, that when we have a vocation, we regard most above all the special points in the same, and see that we do them rather than the accidents.

As for an ensample, unto great men God alloweth hunting and hawking at some times ; but it is not their chiefest duty whereunto God hath called them : for he would not that they should give themselves only to hawking and hunting, and to

do nothing else. No not so; but rather they ought to consider the chiefest point, than the accidents; hawking and hunting is but an accessory thing, but the chiefest thing to which God hath ordained them, is to execute justice, to see that the honour and glory of God be set abroad: this is the chiefest point in their calling, and not hawking and hunting, which is but an accident. So likewise a serving man may use shooting, or other pastimes; but if a serving man would do nothing else but to shoot, setting aside his master's business, this man no doubt should not do well; for a serving man's duty is to wait upon his master; and though he may shoot sometimes, yet his special and chiefest duty, is to serve his master in his business.

Our Saviour went once abroad, and by the way as he went, he said to one, "Follow me:" the fellow made answer, saying, "Let me first bury my father:" Our Saviour said unto him again, "Let the dead bury their dead, and come thou and follow me." (Matt. viii.) Where our Saviour teacheth us, that when we have a special vocation, we shall forsake the general: for to bury father and mother, is a godly deed, for God commandeth to honour father and mother; yet when we have such a special calling as this man had, we must leave all other vocations: for our Saviour would rather have the dead to bury the dead, than that this man should forsake or set aside his vocation. But our spirituality, what do they? Marry, some be occupied with worldly businesses, some be clerks of the kitchen, surveyors, or receivers, which no doubt is wicked, and they must make a heavy account for it. For their special calling is to fish, to preach the word of God, and to bring the people from ignorance unto the knowledge of God's word; this they ought to do. Abraham, the patriarch, had a vocation, when God called him out of his country; this was a vocation. So likewise, when God commandeth him to offer his son, he was ready and willing to do it: for because God had commanded him, he made no excuses, but went and followed his vocation most diligently and earnestly.

But this I would have you to note well, that they that have but general vocations, may not follow those which have special vocations. As when we would follow the ensample of Abraham, we may not. Abraham had a special vocation of God

to offer his son; therefore they that afterward followed the ensample of Abraham, and burned their children, they did naughtily, for they had no commandment of God to do so. Phineas, that godly man, seeing one of the great men of Israel do wickedly with a naughty woman, went thither and killed them both, whilst they were yet doing the act of lechery. (Numb. xxv.) Now in so doing he pleased God, and is highly commended of God for it: shall we now follow the ensample of Phineas? shall we kill a man by and by when he doth wickedly? No, not so; we have no such commandment of God as Phineas had; for he had a special calling, a secret inspiration of God to do such a thing; we, which have no such calling, may not follow him, for we ought to kill nobody; the magistrates shall redress all matters.

So to preach God's word it is a good thing, and God will have that there shall be some which do it: but for all that, a man may not take upon him to preach God's word except he be called unto it: when he doth it, he doth not well, though he have learning and wisdom to be a preacher; yet for all that, he ought not to come himself without any lawful calling; for it was no doubt a good thing to keep the ark from falling, yet for all that Uzza was stricken to death because he took in hand to meddle with it without any commission.

We have a general vocation, which is this, *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo*, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread, till thou be turned again into the ground, out of which thou wast taken." (Gen. iii.) This text doth charge all us to labour, rich and poor, no man excepted; but he must labour that labour which God hath appointed for him to do: for God loveth not slothfulness, he will have us to labour, to do our business: and upon the holy-day he will have us to cease from bodily labour, but for all that he will not have us to be idle, but to hear his word, to visit sick folks and prisoners; these are holy-days' work, which God requireth of us; therefore we may not be let of those works with bodily labour; we must set aside all bodily labour, and feed our souls upon Sundays in hearing of God's most holy word, and in receiving his holy sacraments. So, I say, labour is commanded unto us, unto every one, no man excepted. All Adam's children are bound to labour; for that which was

said unto Adam, is said likewise unto us: and our Saviour himself teacheth us to labour, when he saith to Peter, *Duc in altum*, “ Lead thy boat into the deep,” and *Relaxarete ad capturum*, “ spread out thy net to catch.” (Luke v.) Here Christ commanded Peter to do his duty, to follow his occupation.

Now he that commanded Peter, saying, “ Cast out thy net,” he commandeth also us, every one in his estate, to do the business of his calling; he will have the farmer to follow his trade to till the ground, to sow, &c., and yet it is God that giveth the increase of the labour. For we may not think, as though we by our labour may get somewhat; no not so, we must labour indeed, but we must pray Him to send the increase; for except he bless our labour, no doubt we shall labour all in vain. The ordinary way, whereby God sendeth us our food is labour, yet for all that we must not set our hearts upon our labour, nor trust therein, but only hang upon God.

It is written, *Egestatem operatur manus remissa*, “ A hand that will not labour, saith scripture, shall come to poverty:” (Prov. x.). That is to say, that man or that woman that will not labour, will not do the work of his vocation, shall not prosper in this world: but a diligent hand, a man that will labour, almighty God will send him increase, he shall have enough. So that certain it is, that we must labour; for St. Paul saith, *Qui non laborat non manducet*, “ He that laboureth not, let him not eat.” I would wish that this commandment of St. Paul were kept in England, that these idle lubbers that will not labour, that they should not eat neither: for no doubt, if they were served so, it would make them to apply their bodies to a better use than they do.

St. Paul, in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, the last chapter, saith, “ We have heard say, that there are some which walk amongst you inordinately, working not at all, but being busy-bodies. Them that are such, we command and exhort, by our Lord Jesu Christ, that they work with quietness, and eat their own bread.” In these words we may note two things; first, that every one of us ought to labour, and do the office of his calling. Secondarily, we may note here, that a preacher may speak by hear-say, as St. Paul doth here.

I speake unto you since I came into this country by hear-say: for I heard say, that there were some homely thieves, some pickers in this worshipful house; which no doubt is a miserable thing, that in such a house things should be so purloined away: therefore exhorted you at the same time to beware of it, and to make restitution.

Now since there were some of you which were offended with me, because I speake by hear-say: they said I slandered the house in speaking so. But I tell you, that I slandered nobody at that time, I speake but only to the amendment of the guilty: and therefore the guiltless must give leave unto the preacher to reprove sin and wickedness. For the preacher when he reproveth sin, he slandereth not the guiltless, but he seeketh only the amendment of the guilty. Therefore God saith by the prophet. *Annuncia populo scelera illorum,* "Shew unto the people their sins;" (Is. l.) therefore when such a thing is spoken, they that be guiltless should be content when sin and wickedness is reproved.

There is a common saying, that when a horse is rubbed on the gall, he will kick: when a man casteth a stone among dogs, he that is hit will cry: so it is with such fellows too; belike they be guilty, because they cannot suffer to be a gainsaid. I remember the Prophet Isaiah, in what manner of wise he reproved the sins of the people, saying, *Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam,* "Thy silver is turned into dross." So no doubt the fall of the money hath been here in England the undoing of men. *Et vinum tuum mixtum est aqua.* "And thy wine is mingled with water." Here the prophet speaketh generally: and he goeth forth, saying, "Thy princes are wicked, and companions of thieves, they love rewards altogether: as for the fatherless, they help them not to right: neither will they let the widow's cause come before them." These be sore words, spoken generally against all the princes, where I doubt not but there were some good amongst them; yet for all that the prophet slandereth them not, for he speaketh not against the good, but against the wicked, he meaneth not the guiltless. For such a manner of speaking is used in the scripture, to speak by the universal, meaning a great number, but yet not all, only those that be guilty; therefore such manner of speaking is no slander.

Therefore I said at the same time, as St. Paul saith to the Thessalonians, "I hear say, that there be some amongst you that will not labour:" So I said, I hear say, that there be some amongst you, which are given to picking and stealing ; and so I shewed you the danger of it, and told you how you should make restitution secretly, without any open shame: for it is no shame to forsake sin, and to come to godliness. For no doubt restitution must be made either in effect, or affect: that is to say, when thou art able, then thou must make it in effect, when thou art not able, then thou must be sorry for it in thy heart, and ask God forgiveness. This I told you at the same time, where I slandered nobody : therefore I would wish that ye would expound my words now forwards better than ye have hitherto.

Now to the matter again : when a man should ask this question, saying, we are all bound to work for our livings, but I pray you by whom cometh the gain of our works ? Who giveth the increase of it ? There be some kind of people which think, that they bring all things to pass by their own labour ; they think they get their livings with their own hand work. Some again there be, which think that the increase of their labour cometh by the devil, that he increaseth and blesseth their labours. But think ye that any body will say so, that his increase cometh by the devil ? No, I warrant you, they will not say so with their mouth ; yet, for all that, their conversation and living, sheweth it to be so indeed with them.

For all they that live of usury, they have their gains by the devil. So likewise all they that sell false wares, or sell by false weight, or use any manner of falsehood, they be in the devil's service, they have his livery ; therefore they seek all their gains at his hands, through false and deceitful dealing ; and so it appeareth that the devil is the increase of their gains ; and no doubt the devil taketh upon him to be lord over all things in earth, as it plainly appeareth by the gospel of Matthew, where he took in hand to tempt Christ our Saviour, and brought him upon a high hill, where he shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, *Hæc omnia dabo tibi, si prostratus adoraveris me,* " All these things I will give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." By these words it appeareth, that the devil beareth himself in

hand to be lord and ruler over the whole world; but in very deed, he hath not so much as a goose feather by right. And yet for all that, he hath many children here upon earth, which hang upon him, and seek their increase by him, through falsehood and deceit.

Therefore such worldlings have a common saying amongst them: they say, when a man will be rich, he must set his soul behind the door; that is to say, he must use falsehood and deceit. And therefore, I fear me, there be many thousands in the world which set their souls behind the doors. The merchant commonly in every city doth teach his prentice to sell false wares: so that a man may say to all cities, as Isaiah saith to Jerusalem, *Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam*, "Thy silver is turned into dross;" thy ware is false; thou hast a delight in falsehood and deceit; thou gettest thy goods *per fas et nefas*, "By lawful and unlawful means." But the increase that the godly man hath, cometh of God; as the scripture saith, *Benedictio Dei facit divitem*, "The blessing of God maketh rich." (Prov. x.)

Now there be some that will say, if the blessing or the increase come not of my labour, then I will not labour at all; I will tarry till God sendeth me my food, for he is able to feed me without my labour or travail. No, we must labour, for so are we commanded to do; but we must look for the increase at God's hands: like as Peter did, he laboured the whole night, yet he took nothing at all, till Christ came. And yet this is not a certain rule, he that much laboureth, shall have much. For though a man labour much, yet for all that, he shall have no more than God hath appointed him to have; for even as it pleaseth God, so he shall have. *Nam Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus*. "For the earth is the Lord's, and all that is therein;" (Ps. xiv.) and when we have much, then we are accountable for much. For no doubt we must make a reckoning for that which we receive at God's hands.

Now to make an end: I desire you let us consider our general vocation, that is to say, let us labour every one in that estate wherein God hath set him: and as for the increase, let us look for it at God's hands, and let us be content with that which God shall send us; for he knoweth what is best for us: if we have *victum et vestitum*, "Meat, and drink, and

clothing let us be content withal," (1 Tim. vi.) for we cannot tell, when good man death will come, and make an end of all together.

And if we have special vocations, let us set aside the general, and apply the special points of our vocation, rather than the accidents; and let us labour in our calling, and yet not think to get any thing by it, but rather trust in God, and seek the increase at his hands: let us look for his benediction, then it shall go well with us; but above all things beware of falsehood, for with falsehood we serve the devil. But as I told you before, I fear me the devil hath a great number of servants in England.

The Almighty God grant us grace to live so here in this world, and to apply our business in such wise, that he may be glorified amongst us: so that we may finally come to that felicity which he hath prepared for us. *Amen.*

THE SERMON
OF
MASTER DOCTOR LATIMER,
PREACHED ON
THE SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT, 1552.

LUKE xxi. 25—28.

And there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, and in the stars, and in the earth: the people shall be at their wits' end through despair; the sea and the water shall roar, and men's hearts shall fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which shall come on the earth. For the powers of heaven shall move: and then shall they see the Son of Man come in a cloud, with power and great glory. When these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth near.

THIS gospel is read this day in the church, and it shall be for our lesson. It is taken out of the twenty-first chapter of Luke, and it maketh mention of the glorious coming of our Saviour Christ, how and in what manner of form he shall come: for as the scripture (2 Cor. v.) witnesseth, we shall all come before the judgment of Christ, and there receive every one according unto his deserts: after his works he shall be rewarded of Christ, which shall be at that time their judge; and there shall be signs and tokens before his glorious and fearful coming; for then he shall come to judgment. His first coming into this world was to suffer his painful passion, and so deliver mankind out of the bondage and dominion of the devil. But when he cometh again he will come of another manner of wise than he did the first time: for he will come with great power and might, with the host of heaven, with all the angels of God, and so sit at the audit and judge all men. And this is most certain that he will come, but we cannot tell when, or at what time his coming shall be. For the day of his coming is hidden from us, to that end that we should be ready at all times.

Therefore I desire you, for God's sake, make you ready;

put not off your preparation. For seeing that we be certain that danger and peril shall come upon us, all they that be wise and godly will prepare themselves, lest they be taken suddenly unawares, or unready. And therefore I say, this day is hidden from us, to the intent that we ever should be ready. For if we should know the day or the hour, at what time he would come, no doubt we would be careless, we would take our pleasure as long as we might, till at such time as we should depart. And therefore, lest we should be made careless, this day is hidden from us: for the angels of God themselves know not the hour or moment of this great and fearful day. Neither did Christ himself know it as he was man, but as he is God he knoweth all things; nothing can be hid from him, as he saith himself: *Pater communstrat mihi omnia*, "The Father sheweth me all things." (John v.) Therefore his knowledge is infinite, else he were not very God. But as concerning his manhood, he knew not that time, for he was a very natural man, sin excepted: therefore like as he was content to suffer heat and cold, to be weary and hungry; like as he was content to suffer such things, so he was content, as concerning his manhood, to be ignorant of that day. He had perfect knowledge to do his Father's commission, to instruct us, and teach us the way to heaven, but it was not his commission to tell us the hour of this day. Therefore he knew not this day, to tell us of it any thing, as concerning when it should be. For as far forth as ignorance is a painful thing unto man, so far forth he was content to be ignorant, like as he did suffer other things.

I will rather spend the time in exhorting you to make ready against that day, to prepare yourselves, than curiously to recite or expound the signs thereof, which shall go before this fearful day.

"And there shall be signs in the sun and moon." There be some learned men which expound these tokens of the destruction of Jerusalem, but that is not the matter; if they have gone before the destruction of Jerusalem, then they have gone before the end of the world, and so admonish us to make ready, to leave sin, lest we be taken with it.

As touching the Jews, our Saviour Christ wept over them, and threatened them what should come upon them, because they despised him, and would not receive God's holy word, and

leave their sins; like as we do, which take our pleasure, care little for him or his word, we cannot suffer when our faults are told us, we repine and grudge at it, like as the Jews did. Therefore our Saviour knowing what should come upon them, wept over the city, prophesying that it should so be destroyed, that one stone should not be left upon another ; and so it came to pass according unto his word. For Titus, the son of Vespasian, which was emperor at that time, destroyed that same city Jerusalem utterly, like a forty years after the death of our Saviour Christ. But wherefore were they so destroyed ? because they would not believe the sayings of our Saviour Christ : they would take their pleasures, they would follow their forefathers, as our papists are wont to say. When they cannot defend themselves with scripture, then they will defend themselves with the ignorance of their forefathers ; much like unto the Jews, which could not away with the doctrine of our Saviour, because it was disagreeing from the customs and traditions of their forefathers.

But what happened ? their destruction fell upon them before they perceived it, and destroyed the most part of them full miserably, God knoweth ; and not only that, but as the story doth shew, they that were left, and not brought to destruction, were so vilely handled, and so despised amongst all men, that thirty were sold for a penny ; and so by that means they were scattered throughout all the world ; and in every country where they came, they were made slaves and tributaries, and shall be so till to the end of the world : For scripture saith, *Hierusalem calcabitur à gentibus, donec implebuntur tempora gentium,* “ Jerusalem shall be trodden under feet, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.” (Luke xxi.) By this prophesy is signified that the Jews never shall come together again, to inhabit Jerusalem and Jewry, and to bear rule there, as they have done : for by this word, *calcabitur*, “ it shall be trodden under feet,” is signified as much as, it shall be inhabited, it shall be under the dominion of the Gentiles.

Now which are Gentiles ? Answer, All the people in the whole world are Gentiles, be it whatsoever they will, except the Jews; all other are Gentiles : we Englishmen are Gentiles, so are likewise the Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and other nations, all are Gentiles. Now the prophet saith, that Jerusalem shall

not be inhabited, *Donec implebuntur tempora gentium*, “Till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled ;” that is to say, till all they are come into the world which are appointed of God to come ; that is to say, they shall never come together again till to the end of the world. Wherefore ? because they were stiff-necked that they would not be ruled by God’s most holy word, but despised it, and lived according unto their own phantasies and vanities : like as we do nowadays the most part of us. Therefore we may reckon that it shall go with us one day as it went with them, which are made now outcasts of the whole world ; every man despiseth them, and regardeth them for nothing, for they have no dominion more, no king, nor ruler, no cities, nor policy.

And though Jerusalem be builded again, yet the Jews shall have it no more, they shall never have dominion over it ; but the Gentiles, they shall have it, it shall be in their hands. And this is the meaning of this prophecy against the Jews, and this God hath performed hitherto ; for the Jews have many times attempted to build it again, yet for all that they were not able to bring it to pass ; for God’s word will not, nor cannot be falsified, for the wrath of God hangeth upon their heads, because of their wickedness, wherewith they have provoked God. Further, you must understand, that not only Jews were at Jerusalem, but they were scattered throughout all the world ; in every country were some ; and therefore they were not all destroyed when Jerusalem was destroyed ; but for all that they were cursed in the sight of God, so that they should not inhabit any more that city.

We read in stories, that in the days of the emperor Adrian, the Jews gathered themselves together out of all cities, a wonderful number of men, all the Jews which could be gotten, to the intent that they might get Jerusalem again ; which Jerusalem was at that time in the emperor’s hands, and therefore they made great preparations to have it again : but what doth the emperor ? he gathered together a great and strong host, and made against them, and in the end scattered them : so that they were without any hope afterward to recover that city again : after which things the emperor made a proclamation, that not one Jew should come into the city, neither to buy or to sell ; yea, and furthermore, to the intent that they should be without any

hope of recovery, he changed the name of the city, and called it Elia. So that by this story it most manifestly appeareth, that the word of God cannot be falsified by any man's power or cunning: for though they had a strong and mighty host, yet, for all that, God, which is the ruler of things, confounded them, so that they could bring nothing to pass after their minds, as they would have it, but rather were banished further from the city: for they were in worse case after this fighting, than they had been before: for they had an access unto the city before, which liberty afterward they lost.

After that in Julianus the emperor's time, which emperor was an apostate, for he had been a christian, and after he came to be emperor, he forsook the christian faith, and all goodness and godliness ; and not only that, but he did all that he could to vanquish and pull down Christ's true religion, and therefore he went about to set up the Jews again, and gave them liberties to gather themselves together, and to return again to Jerusalem: and not only gave them this liberty, but also he helped them with all manner of things, that they might bring to pass their purpose: and so upon that the Jews gathered themselves together in an infinite number of people, and went to Jerusalem, and so began to make preparations for the building of the temple, and so finally laid the foundation.

The story saith that this host of the Jews was a wonderful rich host, for their mattocks and spades, and the other instruments which they occupied to the building of the temple were made of fine silver. So these Jews had the emperor's favour, his aid and help ; they were rich, and able to set up their kingdom again, and so falsify the word of God, after man's reason : for they lacked no worldly things.

But what doth God ? when he saw that no man would withstand them ; to verify his word, he sendeth a wind, a strong hurling wind, which blew away all their provisions which were made by them for the building of the temple, all the sand and mortar, and such like things, which men use in such buildings, and after that there came such an earthquake, that they were almost out of their wits. And this was not enough, but there came also fire, and burned up all their works, and so finally they were scattered again one from another.

So by these stories it manifestly appeareth, that no man's power is able to stand against God, or to disappoint him of

his purposes : for Christ our Saviour had told them, that they should never come to their rule again. And so his words are verified till this day, and shall be still to the world's end : for he saith, *Cælum et terra peribunt, verba autem meum non peribit*, “ Heaven and earth shall perish, but my word shall endure for ever.” (Matt. v.) A man would think, that there were nothing so durable as heaven and earth is, yet for all that, they shall rather perish, than that the word of God should be falsified.

And this appeared in the Jews, which though they had the aid and help of this great emperor, and the mighty power of this world, yet for all that they brought nothing to pass at all, for God was able to confound them ; and so no doubt he will confound all his enemies till the end of the world: for he is as able to verify his words now, as he was then. I would have you to consider well the causes wherefore they were cast away from God, and were made a mocking-stock unto the whole world. Wherefore I say ? Marry, for their wicked and sinful lives. Seeing then that they were cast out of their land, it shall be meet for us to take heed, for no doubt this is written for our instruction, to give us warning, as the epistle which is read of this day exhorteth us.

Now God hath fulfilled his word as touching the destruction of Jerusalem ; he hath made true his word of wrath, think ye not that he will fulfil his word of mercy too ? Yes, no doubt, ye may be sure of it, that he which promised that if we believe in Christ, we shall be saved, he will as well execute and bring to pass that word, as he hath brought to pass the word of his wrath and indignation over the Jews. The temple which was at Jerusalem, was called the temple of God, the people was God's people, but when they would not come unto him, and live according as he would have them to live, he cast them away, and utterly destroyed their dominions and kingdoms, and made them slaves and bondmen for ever.

And no doubt this is written for our instruction and warning ; for no doubt when we follow them in their wickedness, despise God's word, regard it as nothing, but live rather according unto our phantasies and appetites, than after his word, no doubt we shall receive like reward with them. And though God tarry long, yet it shall be to our greater destruction : for his longauimity and long tarrying for our amend-

ment, shall increase, augment, and make greater our punishment and damnation. But if we will leave sin and wickedness, and study to live according unto his will and commandments, no doubt he will fulfil his promises which he hath made unto us of everlasting life; for we have his warrant in scripture, therefore we ought not to doubt of it: for so he saith, *Sic Deus dilexit mundum*, “ So entirely hath God loved the world, that he sent his only begotten Son, to that end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.” (John iii.)

This is now a comfortable thing, and a great promise, which God maketh unto the whole world. And no doubt he is as able to fulfil that promise of grace, as he was able to fulfil his wrathful word against the Jews. So likewise he saith, *Vivo ego dicit Dominus nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat*, “ As truly as I live, saith the Lord God, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he shall turn and live.” (Ezek. xviii.) It is not his pleasure when we be damned, therefore he sweareth an oath: we ought to believe him without an oath, yet to satisfy our minds, and to the intent that we should believe him, and be the better assured of his good will towards us, he sweareth this oath.

Now therefore, if we will follow him and leave our wicked living, convert and turn ourselves unto him, be sorry for that which is past, and intend to amend our life now forward; if we do so, no doubt we shall live with him everlasting, world without end. Therefore let every one of us go into his own heart, and when he findeth that he hath been a wicked man, an iresful man, a covetous or a slothful man, let him repent and be sorry for it; and take a good purpose to leave that same sin wherein he hath lain before. Let us not do as the Jews did which were stiff-necked; they would not leave their sins, they had a pleasure in the same, they would follow their old traditions, refusing the word of God: therefore their destruction came worthily upon them. And therefore, I say, let us not follow them, lest we receive such a reward as they had, lest everlasting destruction come upon us, and so we be cast out of the favour of God, and finally lost, world without end.

“ And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon,

and in the stars, and in the earth." There be some which think that there shall be great eclipses, against the course of nature ; and ye know that there hath been great things seen in the element divers times : sometimes men have seen a ring about the sun ; sometimes there hath been seen three suns at once, and such like things hath been seen in times past ; which no doubt signifies that this fearful day is not far off, in which Christ will come with his heavenly host, to judge and reward every one of us, according unto his deserts.

" And the people shall be at their wits' end through despair :" Men shall be wonderful fearful, they shall pine away for fear ; and no doubt these shall be good men, which shall be thus troubled, with such a fear of this day, for you know the worldlings they care not for that day ; yea, they will scant believe that there shall be such a day, that there shall be another world, or at the least way they would not wish that there should be another world ; therefore they shall be godly men which shall be so used, to be tokens unto the world. And no doubt there hath been here in England many already, which have been so vexed and turmoyled with such fear. That same Master Bilney which was burnt here in England for God's word sake, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a faggot, at the time when the Cardinal [Wolsey] was aloft and bore the swing.

Now when that same Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after he was in such an anguish and agony, so that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word, for he thought that all the whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, for I was familiarly acquainted with him, but all things whatsoever any man could allege to his comfort, seemed unto him to make against him : yet for all that, afterwards he came again, God indued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith, the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burnt for that same gospel's sake, which we now preach in England.

Martin Luther, that wonderful instrument of God, through whom God hath opened the light of his holy word unto the world, which was a long time hid in corners, and negleeted ;

he writeth of himself, that he hath been sometimes in such an agony of the spirit, that he felt nothing but trembling and fearfulness. And I myself know two or three at this present hour which be in this case.

But as concerning the ungodly, they say, *Pax et tutam omnia*, all things are well with them, they care for no more but for this world. Like as in the flood time, they were careless at all, they thought all things were cock sure, till at such time when the flood fell upon their heads. And so it is at this time with the ungodly too, they care not for this day of judgment, it grieveth them not, till it fall upon their heads one day.

It is said in scripture that God “ leadeth into hell, and bringeth up again :” and so it is with such fearful men; for God doth cast them into hell, he hideth himself from them, but at the length he bringeth them out again, and establisheth them with a constant faith, so that they may be sure of their salvation and everlasting life. I knew once a woman, that was seventeen years in such an exercise and fear, but at the length she recovered again, and God indued her with a strong and stedfast faith in the end.

Therefore no doubt these be warnings wherewith the Almighty God warneth us to make ready against that horrible and fearful day, which day no doubt is not far off. For the world was ordained of God to endure, as scripture and all learned men agree, six thousand years: now of this number are gone five thousand five hundred and fifty-two, so that there is left only four hundred and fifty lacking two; and this is but a little time, and yet this time shall be shortened as scripture plainly witnesseth, for the elect’s sake. So that peradventure it may come in my days, as old as I am; or in our children’s days.

Therefore let us begin to strive and fight betimes with sin ; let us not set all our hearts and minds upon this world, for no doubt this day whensoever it shall come, will be wonderful fearful unto all mankind, and specially unto the wicked. There will be great alterations at that day ; there will be hurly burly, like as ye see in a man when he dieth ; what deformity appeareth, how he stretcheth out all his members, what a winding is there, so that all his body cometh out of frame ? so

will it be at this fearful horrible day, there will be such alterations of the earth, and the element, they will lose their former nature, and be indued with another nature.

“ And then shall they see the Son of man come in a cloud with power and great glory.” Certain it is, that he shall come to judge, but we cannnot tell the time when he will come: therefore seeing that he will come, let us make ready, lest he find us unprepared. And take this for a rule, that as he findeth us, so he shall judge us. St. Paul to the Thessalonians (2 Ep. iv.) when he speaketh of the resurrection of the good, saith, “ That at the same day the trumpet shall blow, and all shall rise which died since the world began; then they that shall be found alive upon the earth shall be changed suddenly, and shall be rapt up into the air, and so meet Christ our Saviour.” All those, I say, that be content to strive and fight with sin, that will not be ruled by sin, these shall in such wise be taken up in the air and meet with Christ, and so shall come down with him again. But as for the other sort, which be wicked, and have a delight in wickedness, and will not leave it, but rather go forwards in all mischief; they shall be left upon the earth with the devils, until they be judged: and after that they have received their sentence, they shall go to hell with the devil, and all his angels, and there be punished for their sins in hellish fire, world without end; for so it is written, *Vermis eorum non moritur*, “ Their worm dieth not.”

“ The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light.” Ye shall not take these words so, as though the sun and moon should be obscured or darkened, their light being taken from them. But it is to be understood, that through the brightness of his glory they shall be obscured and darkened. The sun no doubt will shine, but her light shall not be seen, because of the brightness of his glory; like as when ye set a burning candle in the sun, the candle burneth indeed, but her light is not seen, because of the brightness of the sun. So it will be at that time with the sun, for though she be the brightest and clearest creature above all others, yet for all that, Christ with his glory and majesty will obscure her; for his light that he shall bring with him, shall be so bright, that the other shall not be seen. And this his coming shall be wonderful comfortable and joyful unto them which are pre-

pared or chosen to everlasting life: unto them, I say, that be content to leave their sins and wickedness here in this world, and live conformable to God and his holy word; which are not proud or stout; not covetous, or whoremongers; or if they have been so, they will leave it, and do no more so; they are sorry for it from the bottom of their hearts.

Item, they that forsake all manner of falsehood, or slothfulness, and all manner of vices; as gluttony, lechery, swearing, they I say that be content to wrestle with sin; they shall rejoice at that time and be merry beyond all measure. And this is the thing wherefore all godly and faithful people pray in this petition, *Adveniat regnum tuum*, “ Thy kingdom come:” they desire of God the Almighty, that his kingdom, that is to say, the last day, may come, that they may be once delivered from their sins, and live with him everlasting world without end.

As for the other part, this shall be a heavy and fearful coming unto them, that intend not to leave their sins and wickedness, but rather will take their pleasures here in this world; it shall be a heinous sentence unto them, when he shall say unto them, *Ite maledicti in ignem aeternum*, “ Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and all his angels;” get you hence from me, for ye might have been saved, but ye would not; ye despised my words and commandments, ye regarded more your own pleasure, than that which I had commanded you. Hence therefore, get you hence to the devil and all his angels, after whose will and commandments ye have lived, his reward therefore ye shall have.

Of such manner Christ our Saviour will talk with the ungodly, and in the end send them to everlasting damnation. And this shall be an heavy burthen for them: and though they can cloke and hide their sins in this world, yet for all that God will open their wickedness and filthy living at that day, where all the world shall know it, and where they shall not be able to hide themselves or their sins. This day will be like unto a parliament: ye know when things are amiss in a realm, or out of order, all they that be good-hearted, that love godliness, they wish for a parliament: these would fain

have that all the rulers of the realm should come together, and bring all things in good order again.

For ye know that parliaments are kept only for this purpose, that things which be amiss may be amended: and so it will be at this last day, at this general parliament, where God himself with all his heavenly power will be present, and oversee all things, and hear all causes, so that nothing shall escape him: for then all these things which the devil hath brought out of order, they shall be amended; and the devil shall not be able afterward to corrupt them any further; but all things shall be well for ever. Let us therefore ever have in fresh remembrance this day, that it will be a heavy day unto them that be wicked: and again, a joyful pleasant day unto them that have no delight in wickedness.

Therefore Christ saith, *Erigite capita vestra*, “When ye see these things, then hold up your heads;” that is to say, be merry and rejoice, for ye know when we be merrily disposed, we hold up our heads, and laugh. So Christ biddeth us to hold up our heads, that is to say, to be merry, “for our redemption is come near.” So Christ comforteth us, and maketh us to hold up our heads for our redemption is come nearer than it was before.

What? hath he not redeemed us before by his death and passion? How chanceth it then, that our redemption is come nearer? Marry, Christ redeemed us before indeed by his death and passion: yet it appeareth not unto us who it is that shall be saved or damned, for we see the good and the bad bear both the name of christians: good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, are baptized in the name of Christ: so likewise they go to the communion; so that there is no great difference here in this world, between the elect and reprobate: for the very unfaithful give alms, and do such outward acts which seem unto us to be good, and to be done with a good heart, when it is nothing less. So that I say, we cannot tell, as long as we be here in this world, which be elect and which not; but at the last day, then it shall appear who is he that shall be saved; and again, who shall be damned. And therefore Christ saith, our redemption draweth near, that is to say, it shall appear unto the whole world that we be the children of

God. Therefore his coming will be a glad and joyful coming unto the faithful, for they shall be the children of God; they shall be delivered and rid out of all miseries and calamities. But the unfaithful shall fall to desperation at that day: they that take their pleasures here, they that remember not this day, they shall be condemned with the irrefragable and unchangeable judgment of God. And they shall not need any men of law, to go about to defend or discern their causes. No, no; the men of law shall not be troubled at that day in defending of other men's causes, but rather they themselves shall be called to make an account for their doings, and there they shall be judged, so that they shall not be able to speak any thing against it, for their own hearts and consciences shall and will condemn them. And though this great and general day come not in our time, yet let us consider that we shall die, and that we have but a short time to live here in this world.

And as we die so we shall rise again. If we die in the state of damnation, we shall rise in that same estate: again, if we die in the state of salvation, we shall rise again in that same estate, and come to everlasting felicity, both soul and body. For if we die now in the state of salvation, then at the last general day of judgment we shall hear this joyful sentence, proceeding out of the mouth of our Saviour Christ, when he will say, *Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete regnum paratum vobis ab exordio mundi*, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess that kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world." (Matt. xxv). And though we have much misery here in this world, though it goeth hard with us, though we must bite on the bridle, yet for all that, we must be content, for we shall be sure of our deliverance, we shall be sure that our salvation is not far off. And no doubt they that will wrestle with sin, and strive and fight with it, they shall have the assistance of God, he will help them, he will not forsake them, he will strengthen them, so that they shall be able to live uprightly, and though they shall not be able to fulfil the laws of God to the uttermost; yet for all that, God will take their doings in good part, for Christ his Son's sake, in whose name all faithful people do their good works, and so for his sake they be acceptable unto God, and in the end they

shall be delivered out of all miseries and troubles, and come to the bliss of everlasting joy and felicity.

I pray God, that we may be of the number of those, which shall hear this joyful and most comfortable voice of Christ our Saviour when he will say, *Venite, benedicti Patris*, “Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which is prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid.” There be a great number amongst the christian people, which in the Lord’s prayer, when they pray, “Thy kingdom come,” pray that this day may come; but yet, for all that, they are drowned in the world, they say the words with their lips, but they cannot tell what is the meaning of it; they speak it only with their tongue: which saying indeed is to no purpose. But that man or woman that saith these words, “Thy kingdom come,” with a faithful heart, no doubt he desireth in very deed that God will come to judgment, and amend all things in this world, to pull down Satan that old serpent under our feet.

But there be a great number of us which be not ready. Some have lived in this world fifty years, some sixty, but yet for all that they be nothing prepared towards his coming; they think ever he will not come yet: but I tell you, that though his general coming be not yet, yet for all that he will come one day, and take us out of this world: and, no doubt, as he findeth us, so we shall have; if he find us ready, and in the state of salvation, no doubt we shall be saved for ever, world without end.

Again, if he find us in the state of damnation, we shall be damned world without end, there is no remedy, after we be once past this world: no penance will help then, nor nothing that man is able to do for us. Therefore it is meet for every one of us to take heed betimes: let us not tarry too long with our amendment, lest peradventure we shall come too short, for no doubt we shall be rewarded according unto our deserts.

But there be some (and hath been a great number of us) which have trusted in masses and pilgrimages, in setting up candles, and such like foolishness; but I tell you, all this gear will not help, it is to no purpose: for if all the masses which were said in all Christendom since the mass began, if all these

masses, I say, were bestowed upon one man to bring him out of the state of damnation, it were all to no purpose, and to no effect. Therefore let us not put our hope and trust in such fooleries ; for if we do, no doubt we shall deceive ourselves. Again, there be some people which defer and delay their amendments of life, till such time as they shall die; then they take in hand to leave sin, when they are not able to do any more : they will take their pleasure as long as they be able to have it : they think it time enough to repent at the last hour, when they shall depart, and forsake this world.

Such people do very naughtily, and no doubt they be in a dangerous state : for they are not sure whether they shall have at that same last time grace or not, to repent and be sorry for their sins. Peradventure their hearts shall be so hardened in sin and wickedness, that they shall not be able to repent, or be sorry for their faults. Therefore the best and surest way is to repent betimes, while we have time, and to be sorry for our wickedness, and to take an earnest mind and purpose to leave sin : when we do so, then no doubt we shall be taken up with Christ, and dwell with him in heaven everlasting, in great honour and glory, where we shall have such "joy, which no tongue can express, no eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard the inestimable felicities and treasures which God hath laid up for his faithful." (1 Cor. ii.)

And like as our pleasure and joy shall be inestimable if we repent betimes, and leave sin : so likewise the pains of them that will not leave sin, but ever go forward in the same, shall be inestimable and intolerable too ; their pains shall be intolerable, and yet they shall bear them.

Therefore let every man take heed how he spendeth his time, how he taketh his pleasure in this world, for like as the general great day shall be uncertain, so also our particular day, when we shall depart this world, shall be uncertain ; peradventure some of us shall die to-morrow or the next day, therefore it shall be meet and necessary for us to make ready, lest we be taken suddenly unawares.

" And then shall they see the Son of man come in a cloud with power and great glory." St. Paul to the Thessalonians setteth out the coming of Christ and our resurrection ; but he speaketh in the same place only of the rising of the good and faithful

that shall be saved. But the holy scripture in other places witnesseth, that the wicked shall rise too, and shall receive their sentence of Christ, and so go to hell, where they shall be punished world without end. Now St. Paul's words be these, " This say we unto you in the word of the Lord : that we which shall live and shall remain in the coming of the Lord, shall not come before them which sleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and the voice of the archangel and trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall arise first : then we which shall live, even we which shall remain, shall be caught up with them also in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air ; and so shall we ever be with the Lord ; wherefore comfort yourselves one another with these words." (1 Thess. iv.)

By these words of St. Paul, it appeareth, that they which died in the beginning of the world shall be as soon by Christ saved as they which shall be alive here at the time of his coming. I would have you to note well the manner of speaking which St. Paul useth : he speaketh like as if the last day should have been come in his time. Now when St. Paul thought that this day should have been come in his time, how much more shall we think that it shall be in our time ? For no doubt he will come, and it is not long thereunto ; as it appeareth by all scriptures which make mention of this day : it will come, but it shall come suddenly, unawares, as a thief in the night. For a thief when he intendeth a robbery, to rob a man's house, to break up his chests, and take away his goods, he giveth him not warning, he letteth not the good man of the house know at what time he intendeth to come, but rather he intendeth to spy such a time, that no man shall be ware of him. So no doubt this last day will come one day suddenly upon our heads, before we be ware of it ; like as the fire fell down from heaven upon the Sodomites unlooked for ; they thought that all things were well, therefore they took their pleasures, till at such time when the fire fell down from heaven and burned them up all, with all their substance and goods.

So likewise as it happened unto the first world, which would not amend their lives, but followed their carnal lusts and appetites, God sent the flood upon their heads, and so destroyed them all together. Therefore let us take heed lest this great

day do fall upon us, like as the flood and fire fell upon the world, and upon the Sodomites.

St. Jerome, that holy man, writeth in a place, that he ever thought he heard this trumpet of God and the archangel blow. I could wish that we would follow the ensample of Jerome in that point, that we would be so fearful lest this day come upon us unawares.

“ And he shewed them a similitude, Behold the fig-tree and all the trees, when they shoot forth their buds, ye see and know of your own selves that summer is then near at hand.” So when ye see the tokens which shall go before this fearful day, it is time to make ready. But here a man might ask a question, saying, I pray you wherein standeth this preparation? How shall I make me ready? About this matter hath been great strife, for there hath been an infinite number, and there be some yet at this time, which think, that this readiness standeth in masses, in setting up candles, in going of pilgrimage; and in such like gear, they thought to be made ready towards that day, and so to be made worthy to stand before the Son of man, that is, before our Saviour Christ. But I tell you, this was not the right way to make ready. Christ our Saviour he sheweth us how we shall make ready ourselves, saying, “ Take heed to yourselves lest at any time your hearts be overcome with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this world, and so this day come upon you unawares: for as a snare shall it come upon all them that dwell upon the face of the whole world. Watch ye therefore continually and pray, that ye may escape all those things that shall come: and that you may stand before the Son of man.” Here Christ sheweth wherein this preparation standeth; namely, in keeping ourselves from superfluous eating and drinking, and in watching and praying. For how cometh it to pass that the whole world is so deceitful and false? Because every man would fain fare well, every one loveth to have good meat and drink, and to go gaily. And when they have not wherewith to get such things, then they fall to picking and stealing, and to falsehood, and so deceive their neighbours. But our Saviour he giveth us warning that we shall eat and drink measurably, and soberly, every one according to his estate and measure. Further, we ought not to be careful for

this life, we should labour and do our business diligently, every one in that estate in which God hath set him, and let us trust in God, which no doubt will send us increase of our labour.

Therefore Christ addeth, saying, *Vigilate et orate*, “Watch and pray :” as who should say, be ever in a readiness, lest ye be taken unawares : but those sluggards which spend their time vainly in eating and drinking, and sleeping, they please not God, for he commandeth us to watch, to be mindful, to take heed to ourselves, lest the devil, or the world, or our own flesh, get the victory over us. We are allowed to take our natural sleep, for it is as necessary for us as meat and drink, and we please God as well in that same as we please him when we take our food. But we must take heed, that we do it according as he hath appointed us ; for like as he hath not ordained meat and drink to the end that we should play the glutton with it, so likewise the sleep is not ordained, that we should give ourselves to sluggishness, or over-much sleeping ; for no doubt when we do so, we shall displease God most highly. For Christ saith not in vain, “Watch and pray.” He would have us to be watchers, to have at all times in remembrance his coming, and to give ourselves to prayer, to that end that we may be able to stand before him at this great and fearful day. Meaning, that we should not trust in ourselves but call unto God, saying, Lord God Almighty, thou hast promised to come and judge the quick and the dead ; we beseech thee give us thy grace and Holy Ghost, that we may live so according unto thy holy commandments, that when thou comest, thou hastest not cause to bestow thy fearful anger, but rather thy loving kindness and mercy upon us.

So likewise when we go to bed, we should desire God that we sleep not in the sleep of sin and wickedness, but rather that we may leave them, and follow his will and pleasure ; that we be not led with the desires of this wicked world. Such an earnest mind we should have towards him, so watchful we should be. For I tell you it is not a trifling matter, it is not a money matter : for our eternal salvation, and our damnation hangeth upon it. Our nature is to do all things that is possible for us, to get silver and gold ; how much more then should we endeavour ourselves to make ready towards this day, when

it shall not be a money matter, but a soul matter, for at that day it will appear most manifestly who they are that shall enjoy everlasting life, and who shall be thrust into hell. Now as long as we be in this world, we have all one baptism, we go all to the Lord's supper, we bear all the name of christians, but then it will appear who are the right christians ; and again who are the hypocrites or dissemblers.

Well, I pray God grant us such hearts, that we may look diligently about us, and make ready against his fearful and joyful coming, fearful to them that delight in sin and wickedness and will not leave them ; and joyful unto them that repent, forsake their sins, and believe in him ; which no doubt will come in great honour and glory, and will make all his faithful like unto him, and will say unto them that be chosen to everlasting life, *Venite, benedicti Patris mei*, “ Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess that kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world.”

Again, to the wicked which will not live according unto his will and pleasure, but follow their own appetites, he will say, *Ita, maledicti, in ignem æternum*, “ Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.” O what a horrible thing will this be, to depart from him which is the fountain of all goodness and mercy, without whom is no consolation, comfort nor rest, but eternal sorrow and everlasting death ? for God's sake I require you let us consider this, that we may be amongst them which shall hear *Venite*, “ Come to me ;” that we may be amongst them which shall enjoy eternal life. And no doubt we shall be amongst them, if we will be content to leave sin and wickedness, and strive with it, and let it not have the rule and governance over us : when we have done any man wrong, or have taken away his goods from him wrongfully, if we be content to restore it again ; for no doubt restitution must be made, as I told you many a time before. *Restitutiones famæ et rerum sunt opera debita*, “ Restitution of a man's goods, or his name, must needs be made :” for in that point agree all the writers new and old, they say that restitutions must needs be made, either in effect or affect. For this is a sure probation, that this man or woman is not right sorry for his sins and wickedness, that is not content to make restitution when he hath taken away things unlawfully against conscience from his neighbour.

Therefore he that is content to leave his sins, and to make restitution of such things which he hath taken away wrongfully from his neighbour, sheweth himself to be a very penitent man: so likewise they that live in soberness, abuse not the gifts of God, but use them with thanksgiving: *Item*, he that liveth chastely keepeth himself from filthiness, and when he feeleth that he hath not the gift of chastity, marrieth in the fear of God, according unto his ordinance, maketh ready for that day.

And as concerning young folks, all the writers agree that with a mean diligence young folk may live chaste, when they be well governed and ruled, and kept from idleness; then it is no great matter for them to live chaste as long as they be in growing, but such young persons must beware above all things of foul and filthy talk, for it is as St. Paul saith, *Corrumpt bonos mores colloquia pravi*, “Foul and filthy talk destroy good manners, and good bringing up:” and then again young folks must beware of overmuch eating and drinking; for St. Jerome saith, he that is a great drinker of wine, I will never believe that he is a chaste man: therefore let young unmarried folk beware of drinking, and then again of idleness, for when the devil findeth them idle, it is down with them, they are soon overcome.

Therefore let them ever be well occupied till they come to age, and then let them be married in the Lord; for the scripture most highly praiseth marriage. St. Paul saith, *Honorable conjugium inter omnes*, “Marriage is honourable amongst all men.” Further, let us take heed of swearing: for we may not swear at all, and we may swear by nothing but by God; by whom we may not swear, except it be a great and urgent cause, except I be called thereunto by a magistrate; and when I am called so then I must swear by nobody else, save only by God.

Therefore they that are so used to swearing do very naught, and no doubt God’s vengeance hangeth over their heads. For certain it is, that he which is a great swearer is also a great liar. But as I said before, they that will leave such wickedness, and will live conformable unto God’s word, and then believe in Christ our Saviour, trust and believe to be cleansed from their sins through his death and passion, no doubt they shall hear this joyful sentence of Christ our Saviour, “Come to me, ye

blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world." We esteem it to be a great thing to have a kingdom in this world, to be a ruler, to be aloft, and bear the swing; how much more then should we regard this kingdom, which Christ our Saviour offereth unto us, which kingdom will be an everlasting kingdom, where there shall be no end of joy and felicity; therefore all they that will be content to follow our Saviour's steps, to suffer with him here in this world, and bear the cross after him, they shall reign with him in everlasting glory and honour: which grant us God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

THE SERMON
OF
MASTER DOCTOR LATIMER,
PREACHED ON
THE THIRD SUNDAY IN ADVENT, 1552.

MATTHEW xi. 2, 3, 4, 5.

When John being in prison heard the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and said unto him, Art thou he that shall come, or do we look for another? Jesus answered and said unto him, Go and shew John again what ye have heard and seen, &c.

THIS is read in the church this day, and it shall serve us this day for our lesson.

It beginneth thus: "When John being in prison heard the works of Christ;" and here is to be had in consideration of whom he had heard these wonderful works which our Saviour did, for he could not hear it without a teller, somebody told him of it. The evangelist Saint Luke in the seventh chapter, doth shew, how and by whom John Baptist heard such things which our Saviour Christ did; namely, by his own disciples. For when our Saviour had raised up the widow's son, which was dead at Nain, the disciples of John came by and by unto John their master, and told him all things; namely, how Christ raised up that same young man which had been dead already. And this is a thing to be marvelled at, that John had so much liberty, that his disciples could come at him, and speak with him; Herod the king being a cruel man, a heathen king, a miscreant, a man of unbelief: No doubt it is a great matter that his disciples could have liberty to speak with him; for a man would think that no man should have been permitted to come near him. For I know that in Christian realms, some being cast into prison for the truth's sake, for God's word sake, have not been suffered that their friends

should have come near unto them. And here it appeareth most manifestly that Christian princes have sometimes more cruelly and extremely used God's preachers than the Gentiles used their preachers, sent unto them from God to teach them ; they were more straitly holden and more extremely handled than John was. So we read likewise of St. Paul, which was cast into prison at Rome by that wicked and cruel tyrant the emperor Nero, which emperor, though he was a cruel tyrant, a wicked man, and a venomous persecutor of God's church, and his holy word, yet for all that, Paul had liberty to speak with every one that would come unto him, and commune with him. So that there came unto him which would, and they might speak with him what they would : For St. Luke saith, in the last chapter of the Acts, these words : " And Paul dwelt two years full in his lodging, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus with all confidence, no man forbidding him." Here by these words we may perceive, that Paul had liberty to say his mind, and to commune with his friends, he was not so straitly kept. But we see and have had experience, that preachers which profess that same word, which Paul taught, are more straitly handled in Christian realms, than in times past they were, when the rulers and princes were not Christians. Christian princes be more earnest to extinguish God's word and his true religion, than the heathen were which knew not, or would not know God.

But now ye might ask, what manner of works were these which our Saviour had done in the presence of John's disciples, which by and by afterward went and told their master of it, what special things had our Saviour wrought ? Answer, Luke the evangelist sheweth a great and marvellous act, which Christ our Saviour had done immediately as John's disciples came unto him. The story is this : " When Christ went into a city which is called Nain, and many of his disciples following him, and much people : when he was come nigh to the gate of the city, behold there was a dead man carried out, which was the only son of his mother, and she was a widow, and much people of the city went with her." And here you may note by the way, that these citizens had their burying-place without the city, which no doubt is a laudable thing ; and I do much

marvel that London, being so rich a city, hath not a burying-place without; for no doubt it is an unwholesome thing to bury within the city, specially at such a time when there be great sicknesses, so that many die together.

I think verily that many a man taketh his death in Paul's church-yard*: and this I speak of experience, for I myself when I have been there in some mornings to hear the sermons, have felt such an ill-favoured unwholesome savour, that I was the worse for it a great while after. And I think no less, but it be the occasion of much sickness and diseases: therefore the citizens of Nain had a good and laudable custom, to bury their corses without the city, which ensample we may follow.

Now when our Saviour saw this corse, and the widow, which was now a miserable and sorrowful woman, for she had lost first her husband, and afterward her son, in whom she had all her hope and comfort in this world, him she had lost now, therefore she was sorrowful, and not without cause. But what doth our Saviour? Marry, he comforted her, saying, "Weep not." Here may all widows, which are destitute of comfort in this world; here, I say, they may learn to trust in Christ, and to seek aid and help by him. For no doubt, like as he hath comforted this miserable widow, so he will comfort and help all them that call upon him in their need and necessity. For his hand is not abbreviated, or his power diminished; he is as strong, as rich, and as mighty as ever he was; therefore let widows learn here to seek aid and help by him.

Now, when he had comforted her with his words, he came nigh, and touched the coffin, and they that bare the coffin stood still. And he said, *Adolescens, tibi dico, surge,* "Young man, I say unto thee, arise." And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak. Now upon this there went such a rumour throughout all the countries, so that every man

* In our author's time, and much earlier, St. Paul's church-yard was a common burying-place for all sorts of citizens and others; insomuch that Stow tells us, in the year 1549, "the bones of the dead couched up in a charnel, under the chapel, were conveyed from thence to Finsbury Field, (by report of him who paid for the carriage) amounting to more than one thousand cart-loads, and there laid on a moorish ground, in short space after raised, by spoilage of the city upon them, to bear three mills," from whence the place was called Mountmill.

marvelled at it. And John's disciples went to their master and told him of it, what wonderful things he did. Note here, that when we hear that our Saviour is a doer of such wonderful supernatural works, it shall be a wondrous great comfort unto us. For by this his deed, it appeared manifestly, that he is a master over death, and hath power to command him : so that death is in his dominion. For to raise a man up, whom death hath devoured already, is as much as to command death. But I tell you, Death is such an arrogant fellow, and so proud, yea and of so great might and strength, that he will give no man place, nor submit himself to any man, save only unto God, unto him he must obey, and humble himself before his divine majesty. And therefore it appeareth here that our Saviour is very God, because Death, that stout fellow, must obey him; he is not able to withstand or disobey his commandments ; which is a most comfortable thing unto us which believe in such a Saviour, which hath power over death. And therefore if he hath power over death, then we shall be sure that death shall or cannot hurt us which believe in him : for when we believe in him, he is able to defend us from death, hell, and devil, so that they shall not be able with all their might or power, to hurt us, or do us any mischief ; but we shall have life everlasting. For he saith, *Qui credit in me, et si mortuus fuerit vivet,* “ He that believeth in me, and though he die, yet he shall live.” (John xi.) That is to say, though he depart out of this natural bodily life, yet for all that, he shall live everlasting with me, world without end.

This is now an exceeding comfort to all Christian people, for they may be assured that when they believe in Christ ; and Christ taketh their parts, there shall be nothing neither in heaven nor in earth, that shall be able to hurt them, or let them of their salvation : and so we learn by this wonderful miracle which our Saviour did before all the multitude, that he proved himself to be very God, and one that hath power over death. But peradventure ye will say, No ; it followeth not, he raised up the dead, *ergo*, he is very God ; for we read in the Old Testament, that Elias and Elisha, those holy prophets of God, did such works too ; they raised up the dead as well as he ; and yet for all that they were not gods,

but sinful men as we be: though they had such a special gift of God, yet they were not gods, nor yet took upon them to be gods.

To this question or objection, I will answer hereafter, and if I forget it not. In the mean season, I will move another question, which is this: What should move John's disciples to come and tell him the miracles which Christ our Saviour did? Think ye they came with a good will to set out Christ, and to magnify his doings, or came they with an ill will, or envious heart, which they bare towards Christ? Answer. They came with an ill will and envious heart which they bare against Christ, as it appeareth most manifestly, by the circumstances being well considered. For ye must understand, that John had very much ado to bring his disciples to Christ: they thought that Christ and his doings, his conversation were nothing, in comparison of John. For John's straight life which he led in the wilderness, made such a shew and outward glistening, that our Saviour was regarded for nothing in comparison of him. For our Saviour led not so hard and straight a life as John did; he eat and drank, and would come to men's tables when he was bidden; he would keep company with every body, rich, and poor, whosoever received him, and would believe in him: but John was in the wilderness, out of the company of all men. Therefore the disciples of John they much more regarded John their master, than Christ their Saviour. And therefore they ever lay upon John, in exhorting him, that he would take upon him to be Christ, and the Saviour of the world. And when they had heard of any miracles that Christ had done, they by and by came unto their master, and told him of it disdainfully, as who should say, Thus and thus, we have heard that Christ hath done, wherefore shewest not thou thyself too? Wherefore workest thou not as well miracles as Christ doth? Every man speaketh of him; do thou somewhat too, that the people may know thee to be a great man, as well as Christ.

We read in the gospel of Matthew, that John's disciples came once to Christ, and quarrelled with him; saying, *Cur nos et Pharisæi jejunamus frequenter, discipuli autem tui non jejunat?* "Wherefore fast we and the Pharisees so many

times, but thy disciples fast not at all?" They thought in their own opinions, that John's life was a great deal more to be esteemed than Christ's, because John's life was more painful in the outward shew of the world; therefore it grieved them, that Christ should be more esteemed than John. So that we may perceive by John's disciples, that they had a good zeal, *sed non secundum scientiam*, "but not according unto knowledge." For it is a good thing for a servant to love his master; but John's disciples did naught, in that they envied Christ, and went about to stir up their master to take upon him to be Christ.

Now John, intending to correct and amend their false opinion, which they had in Christ and in him: for they regarded him too much, and Christ, which was to be most regarded, him esteemed they for nothing, in comparison of John; therefore John, that good and faithful man, seeing the ignorance of his disciples, playeth a wise part; for hearing them talk of the wonderful works which Christ our Saviour did, he sendeth them unto Christ with this question, "Art thou he that shall come, or shall we look for another?"

When we look only upon the outward shew of these words, a man might think, that John himself was doubtful whether Christ were the Saviour of the world or not, because he sendeth his disciples to ask such a question of him. But ye must understand, that it was not done for John's sake, to ask such a question, but rather for his disciples' sake. For John thought that this should be the way to bring them to a good trade, namely, to send them to Christ. For as for John himself, he doubted not, he knew that Christ was the Saviour of the world; he knew it, I say, whilst he was yet in his mother's womb. For we read in the gospel of Luke, that after the angel came unto Mary and brought her such tidings, she arose, and went through the mountains, and came to Jerusalem to Elizabeth her cousin, and as she saluted her, the evangelist saith, *saltit infans in utero suo*, "The infant, which was John, leapt in his mother's belly." So that John being in his mother's belly, yet knew Christ, which should be born out of the Virgin Mary.

After that we read in the third chapter of Matthew, when John should baptize Christ, he said unto Christ, *Ego potius,*

“ I have more need to be baptized of thee, than thou of me.” So that it manifestly appeareth that John doubted not of Christ, but knew most certainly that he was the eternal Son of God, and the Redeemer which was promised unto the fathers to come into the world ; for it was told him from above, that upon whomsoever he should see the Holy Ghost coming down from heaven visibly, that same was he ; which afterward happened ; for John, after he had baptized him, saw the Holy Ghost come down in a form of a dove : further, John pointed him with his finger, saying, *Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*, “ See the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.” So, I say, it is most evident, that John himself doubted not, for he knew it assuredly that Christ was the Saviour, but he did it only to remedy the doubts of his disciples. Now when John’s disciples came to Christ, they did their message, saying, *Es tu ille, qui venturus est, an alium expectamus?* “ Art thou he that shall come, or shall we look for another ?” What doth Christ ? he made not answer with words, but with the deeds ; he made not much ado in setting out himself with great words, but he shewed himself to be Christ indeed. For he did such miracles which no man else could do but only he which was both very God and man. I would wish of God that we would do so too : that when we be asked a question, whether we be Christians, whether we have the gospel, the true word of God, or not ; I would wish, I say, that we could shew our faith by our works and godly conversation, like as he shewed himself to be Christ, by his acts and deeds : but I tell you, we be far otherwise, our acts and deeds disagree far from our profession. For we are wicked, we care not for God’s laws, nor his words ; we profess with our mouth that we be the haters of sins : but our conversation sheweth that we love sin, that we follow the same, that we have a delight in it. So it appeareth, that our words and deeds agree not ; we have God’s holy word in our mouth, but we follow the will and pleasure of the devil in our outward conversation and living. But Christ he did not so ; for he shewed himself by his outward works and conversation that he was very Christ the Saviour of the world. So we should do too ; we should live so uprightly, so godly, that every one might know us by our outward

conversation to be very Christians. We should so hate and abhor sins, that no man justly might or could disallow our doings.

But what manner of works doth Christ, whereby he sheweth himself to be the very Messias and Saviour of the world? Answer? He healeth all manner of diseased folks, the blind, the lame, the lepers, and all other which would come unto him, and desire help at his hands. And finally, he preached the gospel, this joyful tidings unto the poor, unto them Christ preached the gospel. But I pray you, how chanced it, that he saith, *Pauperes evangelizantur*, “The poor receive the gospel?” Answer, Because the most part of the rich men in this world, despise and contemn the gospel; they esteem it for nothing: why? wherefore despise they the gospel? Because they put their hope, trust, and confidence in their riches. For the most part of the rich men in this world, (I will not say all) do either put their hope in their riches, or else they come naughtily by their riches, or else they keep it ill: they heap them up together, or else they spend them ill. So that it is a very rare thing to find a godly rich man; for commonly they are given to gather and to make heaps, and so forget the poor in the mean season, whom they ought to relieve: or else when they spend them, they spend them naughtily, not as God hath appointed unto them; namely, to help their poor and needy neighbour, but rather to use them to excess, wantonness and pleasure. Therefore Christ saith, “The poor receive the gospel;” for they are most meet thereunto, they are all comfortless in this world, and so most meet to receive the gospel.

The prophets long afore hand had prophesied of these works, which Christ when he should come should do: for so it is written; “God cometh his own self, and will deliver you, then shall the eyes of the blind be lightened, and the ears of the deaf opened; then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the dumb man’s tongue shall give thanks. In the wilderness also there shall be well-springs.” (Isa. xxxv.) This text of the prophet witnesseth, that Christ is very God, for he hath done such tokens and miracles of which the prophet speaketh. Now in the same prophet it is further written, how that Christ should preach the gospel unto the poor comfortless people; for

so he saith, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, for the Lord hath anointed me to preach good things unto the poor, that I might bind up the wounded hearts, that I might preach deliverance to the captive, and open the prison to them that are bound; that I might declare the acceptable year of the Lord." (chap. lx.)

Here the prophet prophesied that when Christ should come he should be a worker of such acts, and a preacher which should preach the gospel unto the poor: and therefore now, when the disciples of John came unto him, demanding of him whether he were Christ or not, he answered by his works. Like as he saith in another place in the gospel, to the Pharisees: "The works which I do, bear witness of me." As who should say, I prove myself what I am by my works. Again he saith, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not." So that most manifestly he proveth himself to be that prophet, which was spoken of before by the prophets and other holy men of God. John the evangelist, in his gospel, saith, "And many other signs truly did Jesus, in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of the living God, and that in believing, ye might have life through his name." This is a very notable saying, and most comfortable to all troubled consciences. Jesus hath done many things which are not written, but these are written that we should believe him to be Christ: that that Jesus, Mary's son, that was born at Bethlehem, and nourished at Nazareth, that he is the Saviour of mankind; and so in believing in him, we shall have life everlasting. So that there was never none that believed in Christ, which was lost, but all believers were saved; therefore it is not to be doubted, but that if we will believe, we shall be saved too. We read in a book which is entitled, *Vite Patrum*, "The Lives of the Fathers;" in that same book we read that there was once a great holy man, (as he seemed to all the world) worthy to be taken up into heaven: now that man had many disciples, and at a time he fell sick; and in his sickness he fell in great agony of his conscience, insomuch that he could not tell in the world what to do. Now his disciples standing about him, and seeing him in this case, they said unto him: How chanceth it that ye are so troubled, father? for

certainly, there was nobody so good a liver, so holy as ye have been ; therefore you have not need to fear ; for no doubt but you shall come to heaven.

The old father made them answer again, saying ; Though I have lived uprightly, yet for all that it will not help me ; I lack something yet ; and so he did indeed, for certainly if he had followed the counsel of his disciples, and had put his trust in his godly conversation, no doubt he should have been gone to the devil. For though we are commanded to do good works, and we ought to do them ; yet for all that we must beware how we do them : when we do them to the end to be saved by them, then we do them not as we ought to do : then we thrust Christ out of his seat and majesty. For indeed the kingdom of God is merited, but not by us. Christ he merited the kingdom of heaven for us, through his most painful death and passion.

There hath been many perfect men among the heathen, which lived very well and uprightly, as concerning their outward conversation ; but for all that they went to the devil in the end; because they knew not Christ : for so saith scripture, " Whosoever believeth not in the Son he is judged already." Therefore let us learn to know Christ, and to believe in him, for knowledge must go before the ~~b~~elief ; we must first hear the word of God and know it ; and afterward we must believe the same, and then we must wrestle and strive with sin and wickedness, as much as it is possible for us, and so live well and godly, and do all manner of good works which God hath commanded us in his holy laws ; and then we shall be rewarded in everlasting life, but not with everlasting life ; for the everlasting life is a gift of God, a free gift given freely unto men through Christ.

Now when the disciples of John were come to Christ, and had done their errand, had asked him whether he were Christ or not, our Saviour said unto them : " Go and shew John again what ye have heard and seen." And here we may learn by the way what a patient man our Saviour Christ was, which could so well bear with the grossness of John's disciples : for they had heard before many times, of John their master, that Christ was the Saviour of the world, yet they could not believe it ; and so with their unbelief they came to Christ, which refused them not, nor yet reviled them, but entreating them most

lovingly and gently, beareth with their weakness, leaving us an ensample to do so too. For we may learn here by his example, not to be hasty, but to bear with our neighbours; though they be not by and by as we would have them to be, yet we should not by and by revile them, or banish them out of our company, as obstinate fellows; but rather bear with their weakness, like as Christ beareth with the disciples of John.

Now to my question which I moved before: how could the works which our Saviour did in raising up the dead, how could they prove him to be the Saviour of the world, which was promised of God by his holy prophets, when other holy men did the same works as well as he? And this must be answered too; we may have no doubts in that matter. For when we doubt whether he be the very Saviour or not, then we cast down the foundation of our faith, and so bring ourselves to the very pit of hell. Therefore this shall be my answer: Elias and Elisha raised up dead bodies, to prove by such miracles, that they were the right ministers of the living God, and that their doctrine was the true doctrine, and the very word of God; to that end did they their miracles, but they never said we be Christs, or we be the sons of God, yea, and very Gods. No, no; they never took upon them such things: but our Saviour, when he did the same works, he took upon him to be Christ, to be the Saviour of the world, to be the natural Son of God; and so to the confirmation of such his sayings, he did such works: therefore he saith, “I am the bread of life.” *Item, Ego sum resurrectio et vita,* “I am the resurrection and the life.” *Item, Ego sum via, veritas, et vita,* “I am the way, the truth, and the life.” Yea, and when he talked with the woman at the well, she said unto him, “When the Messias cometh he shall teach us all things.” Then he saith unto her, “I am he that speaketh unto thee: I am that same Messias which was to come, and promised of God; I am he.” (John iv.)

Further, he saith, *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis,* “Come to me, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will ease you.” (Matt. xi.) So it appeareth that Christ is the very Saviour of the world, because he did the deeds of our Saviour: and then again, he took upon him to be he indeed, and openly confessed it.

Further, the time giveth it that Christ should come: for so it was prophesied of the good holy father and patriarch Jacob;

when he blessed his sons, he said, “The sceptre shall not depart from Juda, and a law-giver from between his feet, until Shilo come: and unto him shall the gatherings of the people be.” (Gen. xl ix.)

Now at that time, when our Saviour was come, the sceptre was taken from Juda: for all Jewry was under the dominion of the Romans, therefore Shilo must needs come. So it appeareth, that by the reason of the time, Christ must needs come at the same season. So likewise Daniel in his vision shewed, that after sixty-two weeks should Christ be slain, and they shall have no pleasure in him. So ye see that by the reason of the time, he must needs be the right Saviour of all mankind. Again, Christ raised up the dead, and healed the sick in his own name, by his own authority: so did not the prophets, or the apostles, for they did it not in their own strength, but by the help of God. St. Peter raised up Dorcas, that good godly woman, but not by his own power: but Christ our Saviour he did all things, *tanquam auctoritatem habet*, “as he that had authority.” *Adolescens, tibi dico, surge*, “Young man, I say unto thee, arise:” So his works which he did by his own divine power prove him to be very God, and the same Saviour which was promised unto the world.

Now when our Saviour had told the disciples of John, his works and miracles which he did, he addeth a pretty clause, and giveth them a goodly privy nip, saying, *Et beatus qui non fuerit offensus in me*, “And blessed is he that is not offended by me.” Here he toucheth them, he rubbeth them at the gall: he did not mean John, for John was not offended, but he did mean them themselves, for they were offended because of his familiar and mean conversation. But ye will say, how can a man be hurt by him from whom cometh no hurt at all? Marry, I tell you, John’s disciples were hurt of Christ, and yet the fault was not in Christ, but in them: Christ lived a common life, he was a good familiar man, he eat and drank as others did; he came to men’s tables when he was called; insomuch that some called him a glosser: therefore the disciples of John, seeing his simple life, were offended with him.

But I pray you, should Christ have forsaken his manner of living and follow the life of John, because some were offended with him? No, not so. It was *Scandalum acceptum et non*

datum, "They took offences themselves, he gave them none." He did according unto his calling, as he was appointed of his Father.

Here I have occasion to speak of offences. *Scandalum* is slander, but it hath another signification with us, it is taken for an offence or hurt: ye may define it so: An offence is when I say or do any thing great or small, or speak any word whereby my neighbour is made the worse. But this offence is of two manner of ways, first when I do well, and another man is offended with my well-doings. This is *Scandalum acceptum*, "He taketh offence," I give him none: Again, *Scandalum datum*, is when I do wickedly, and with my ill ensample hurt my neighbour, this is offence given. There were many at our Saviour's time which were offended with him, because he preached the word of God and rebuked sins, but Christ saith, *Sinite illos*, "Let them alone," care not for them, let them be offended as long as they will, we may not leave the preaching of the truth for offences' sake, because my neighbour cannot away with it." (Matt. xv.) No, not so; let us say the truth, having a calling, as indeed every man hath a calling, and most specially preachers. We read in the gospel of John, when our Saviour saith unto his disciples and to the other people, *Nisi comederitis*, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, ye shall have no life in you:" By these sayings of Christ, were many offended with him, insomuch that the greatest number went from him, and forsook him; they could not abide him. Now, was Christ to be blamed for that, because he said so? No, no; for he said nothing but the truth. So likewise the preacher, when he saith the truth, is not to be blamed though some be offended with him

When Moses came into Egypt, what inconveniences happened because of his coming? Insomuch that almost the whole land perished: was he faulty? No; for he did nothing but that which God commanded him; but the Egyptians, they were obstinate, they would not obey the voice of God; therefore Moses hurt them not, but they hurt themselves with their infidelity and obstinate heart. So ye see, that we may not leave the truth to be unspoken, or an honest deed to be undone, because some will be offended with it.

As for an ensample, here is a priest which perceiveth by

himself that he hath not the gift of chastity, and therefore would fain marry, but he is afraid that some of his parishioners should be offended with it, with his marriage. Now, shall he leave his marriage because some will be offended with him? No, that he shall not; let the priest instruct his parishioners, tell them out of the word of God, that it is as lawful for him to marry, as well as for another man. After that he hath taught them, if they will not believe him, or refuse his doctrine, let him marry, and care not for their offences. I told you before, that there be two manner of offences, "*Scandalum datum*" and "*Scandalum acceptum*:" "*Scandalum datum*," is, when I offend my neighbour by my wickedness, by my outrageous and inordinate living: "*Scandalum acceptum*," when he is offended with me, when I do a good deed; but for all that, we ought not to leave an honest act, because of another man's offences. But I tell you, it is a perilous thing, and a heinous sin to do such a thing, whereby my neighbour shall be made the worse, by my wicked ensample. As we have an ensample of Jeroboam, which offended all Israel: for he went and set up two golden calves, by which act he gave occasion to the whole people to commit idolatry against God; and this was a heinous horrible sin; for of it came wonderful mischief after. So likewise we read of a great man in scripture, which is called Zimri, which gave an ill ensample in committing lechery openly with a whore, whom Phineas that godly man killed: for his act of lechery was a stumbling-block to all the people of Israel. So ye see that "*Scandalum datum*," is a wicked act which I do whereby my neighbour is made the worse. Therefore I pray you for God's sake beware of such offences: for so it is written in the gospel of Matthew, *Væ homini per quam scandala veniunt*, "Wo be unto that man or woman by whom offences come." Therefore I say, let us beware, let us keep ourselves within the hedges of God's holy word, so that all our doings may be agreeable unto the same; and then, if when we agree with God's word, the world will needs be offended with us, let us not care for that, for they hurt not us, but themselves. Let us therefore take good heed to ourselves, lest we do any thing whereby our neighbour might be offended: for our Saviour saith, "Whosoever doth offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it were better

for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the deep of the sea."

Therefore let parents take heed how they speak in the presence of their children, and masters ought to take heed how they give ensamples unto their servants: for there be some masters and parents, that will speak so lecherously and filthy before their children and servants, that it is out of measure: and not only that, but they will also swear in the presence of their children, yea they will teach them to swear. Our Saviour, how earnestly he commanded us to beware of swearing: therefore parents ought to take heed, and specially such as be rulers over houses, or be officers: if they do swear, all the household will swear too, for it is commonly seen that the servant followeth the behaviours of his master, when they be ill; but the servants are not so hasty to follow their masters in goodness. And this swearing is so come in an use, that we can say nothing at all, but we must swear thereunto, by God, or by my faith, or such like gear; but there be some, which when they be reprehended because of their swearing, they will say, men will not believe me except I swear, which is a token that they have been great liars. For every true man is to be believed without swearing: and therefore take this for a certain rule, that when a man is not ashamed, or hath not a conscience to break this law of God, that is to swear, he will not be ashamed, neither have any conscience to lie, to do against the commandment; for because swearing is as well forbidden as lying, and lying as swearing; therefore he that maketh no conscience in the one, will make less conscience in the other, I myself have had sometimes in use to say in my earnest matters, yea, by St. Mary, and such like things, which indeed is naught. For we are commanded not to swear at all.

Therefore wo be unto them that swear, that offend their neighbours or their children by swearing, or other wickedness. For it were better that a millstone were hanged about our neck than to offend any body: that is to say, he were better to be killed bodily, to suffer extreme punishment bodily: for they that offend, they be killers of their neighbours. But we are faulty the most part of us, two manner of ways: first, we will be offended when there is no offence given: and again we

will be bold to do that thing whereby our neighbour may be justly offended. But he that is a charitable man, will not be lightly offended, for certainly it is a great fault to be rashly offended, and to judge our neighbour's doings to be naught and wicked, afore we know the truth of the matter, for we cannot see the hearts of men. Therefore as long as the thing is not openly wicked, let us not be offended. Again, if the thing be necessary and good, let us not fear offences ; yet we must take heed that we walk charitably. We have a liberty in the gospel, yet we must take heed that we use that same liberty aright, according unto the rule of charity, for St. Paul saith, *Omnia mihi licet, sed non omnia conducunt*, " All things are allowed unto me, but not all things perfect." (1 Cor. vi.) I must bear with him that is weak in faith : as for an ensample, we may eat flesh upon Fridays by God's word, if there were not a law made by the king and his most honourable council ; if there were no law, I say, then I might eat flesh upon Friday ; yet for all that we must use our liberty so that the use of it may edify our neighbour, or intermit it when it may do harm. So like as my liberty must be subject to charity, so my charity must be agreeable to the sincerity of the faith ; for we may by no means leave the truth ; leave God's word, which we must most stedfastly keep.

We have a law that saith, *Ab omni specie mala abstine*, " Abstain from all shew of evil." So that it is not a small matter to be a christian. We read a story that one Attalus and Baldwin were cast into prison for God's religion's sake ; in which prison there were some which would not eat flesh, nor drink wine. Now the same Attalus was instructed of God, that he should monish those prisoners of their rigorousness, which Attalus did, and so at the length brought them to leave their foolishness. But we cannot do so here in England ; for our indifference is taken away by a law ; if there were no such law, then we might eat as well flesh upon Fridays as upon Holidays. And this law is but a matter of policy, not of religion or holiness ; and we ought to live according unto the laws of the realm, made by the King's Majesty ; for in all manner of things, we ought to keep ourselves within the hedges of the laws ; in eating and drinking, in apparel, in pastimes. In summa, our whole conversation should be

agreeable unto the laws. For scripture saith, that we should be obedient to all manner of ordinances, made by the lawful magistrate ; therefore we must spend our life, and take our pastime so that it may stand with the order of the realm. Oh that we would have in consideration these offences, to take heed of giving offences ! And again, to beware of hastiness or rashness to judge or condemn our brother, for to be offended hastily is against charity !

But the world is so full of offences, and so ready to be offended, that I think if our Saviour were here upon earth again as he hath been bodily, and should talk with a woman at the well as he did once, I think that there would some be found amongst us, which would be offended with him, they would think that he had been naught with her : but I pray you beware of rash offences and rash judgments. If my neighbour doth somewhat whereby I am offended, let me go unto him and speak with him ; but to judge him by and by without knowledge, that same is naught. And further, we must follow this rule, *Nemo quod suum est querat, sed quod alterius*, " No man shall seek is own profit, but his neighbour's." I must use my liberty so that my neighbour be not hurt by it, but rather edified. So did St. Paul when he circumcised Timothy, and at another time, when he perceived that the people were stout in defending the ceremonies of the law, he would not circumcise Titus.

Now when the disciples of John were gone, then he beginneth to speak to the people of John Baptist, for our Saviour had a respect to John, to his estimation, lest the people should think that John were in doubt of him, whether he were Christ or not. " What went ye out into the wilderness to see, a reed that is shaken of the wind ? " There was once an old man which counselled a young man, that he should be like as a reed, he should be ruled as the world goeth ; for a reed never breaketh, but it followeth the wind which way soever it bloweth, and the oak-tree sometimes breaketh because she will not bend. But Christ speaketh these words to the great commendation of John, because of his stedfastness ; there be many reeds nowadays in the world, many men will go with the world : but religion ought not to be subject unto policy, but rather policy unto religion. I fear me there shall be a great num-

ber of us reeds, when therre shall come a persecution, that we must suffer for God's word sake. I fear me there will be a great many that will change, which will not be constant as John was.

When a man is in the wrong or erroneous way, then he may and should change: but "*persistite*," saith St. Paul; we must endure and stand stedfast in that which is good and right: in God's word we should stand fast, but not in popery. So that first we must see that we be right, and afterward we must stand. This is a great praise wherewith our Saviour praised John; for it is no small matter to be praised of him, which knoweth the least thoughts of all men.

" Or what went ye out to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? behold, they that wear soft raiment, are in kings' houses." Here in these words, our Saviour condemned not fine gear, as silk, satin, or velvet: for there is nothing so costly but it may be worn, but not of every body. Kings and great men are allowed to wear such fine gear; but John he was a clergyman, it behoved not him to wear such gear. Peradventure if he had been a flatterer, as some be nowadays, then he might have gotten such gear; but John, knowing his office, knew well enough that it behoved not him to wear such fine gear: but how our clergymen wear them, and with what conscience I cannot tell; but I can tell it behoveth not unto them to wear such delicate things. St. Peter doth disallow gorgeousness in women: how much more then in men? for a man would think that women should have more liberties in such trifles, but holy scripture disalloweth it, and not only in women, but also in men. For he nameth women, because they are more given to that vanity than men be. For scripture useth some times by this word women, to understand men too. And again, by the word men it understandeth women too: for else we should not find in all scripture that women should be baptized.

Here were a good place to speak against our clergymen which go so gallantly nowadays. I hear say that some of them wear velvet shoes and velvet slippers; such fellows are more meet to dance the morrice-dance than to be admitted to preach. I pray God amend such worldly fellows, for else they be not meet to be preachers.

Now I will make an end as concerning offences; peradventure ye will say, How chanceth it that God suffereth such offences in the world? Answer, *Inscrutabilia sunt judicia altissimi*, "The judgments of the most Highest are inscrutable;" (Rom. xi.) God can use them to good purposes; therefore he saith, *Necesse est ut scandala veniunt*, "It is necessary that there be offence." Then ye will say, Why should we then be damned for offences, when offences are needful? Answer, When we do ill, we shall receive our reward for our illness, for it is no thanks to us, when God can use them to good purposes; we ought to be punished when we do naught. Therefore the best is to beware and take heed of offences, and all other ungodliness, and live uprightly in the fear of God. So that we may inherit the life everlasting, which he hath prepared for us from the beginning of the world; which grant us God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, one God and three persons, now and ever, world without end. *Amen.*

A S E R M O N,
PREACHED BY
MASTER HUGH LATIMER
AT GRIMSTHORP,
THE TWENTY-EIGHTH OF OCTOBER, ANNO 1552.

JOHN xv. 19.

Hæc mando vobis, ut diligatis invicem.

This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you.

SEEING the time is so far spent, we will take no more in hand at this time, but this one sentence; for it shall be enough for us to consider this well, and to bear it away with us: *Hæc mando vobis, ut diligatis vos invicem*, “This I command unto you, that ye love one another.” Our Saviour himself spake these words at his last supper before he was taken: it was his last sermon that he made unto his disciples before his departure; it is a very long sermon. For our Saviour doth like as one that knoweth he shall die shortly, therefore is desirous to spend that little time that he hath with his friends in exhorting and instructing them how they shall lead their lives. Now among other things that he commanded us, this was one: “This I command unto you, that ye love one another.” My translation hath *Hæc mando vobis*, the plural number; the English goeth as though it singularly were but one, “This is my commandment.” I examine the Greek, where it is in the plural number, and very well; for there be many things that pertain to a Christian man, and yet all those things are contained in this one thing, that is love: he lappeth up all things in love.

Our whole duty is contained in these words, “Love together.” Therefore St. Paul saith, “He that loveth another, fulfilleth the whole law;” so it appeared that all things are contained in this word Love. This love is a precious thing: Our Saviour saith, *In hoc cognoscent omnes quod discipuli*

mei estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem, “ By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye shall love one another.”

So that he maketh love his cognizance, his badge, his livery. Like as every lord most commonly giveth a certain livery to his servants, whereby they may be known that they pertain unto him ; and so we say yonder is this lord’s servants, because they wear his livery: so our Saviour, which is the Lord above all lords, would have his servants to be known by their liveries and badge, which badge is love alone. Whosoever now is indued with love and charity, is his servant: him we may call Christ’s servant: for love is the token whereby you know such a servant that pertaineth to Christ ; so that charity may be called the very livery of Christ. He that hath charity is Christ’s servant: he that hath not charity, is the servant of the devil. For like as Christ’s livery is love and charity, so the devil’s livery is hatred, malice, and discord.

But I think the devil hath a great many more servants than Christ hath ; for there be a great many more in his livery than in Christ’s livery ; there be but very few which be indued with Christ’s livery, with love and charity, gentleness and meekness of spirit ; but there are a great number of those that bear hatred and malice in their hearts, that be proud, stout and lofty ; therefore the number of the devil’s servants are greater than the number of Christ’s servants.

Now St. Paul sheweth how needful a thing this love is. I speak not of carnal love, which is a very beastly love, where-with the whoremonger loveth his whore : but this charitable love is so necessary, that when a man hath her, without all other things it will suffice him. Again, if a man have all other things and lacketh that love, it will not help him, it is all vain and lost. St. Paul used it so: “ Though I speak with tongues of men and angels, and yet had no love, I were even as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cimbal. And though I could prophesy and understand all secrets and all knowledge ; yea, if I had all faith, so that I could move mountains out of their places, and yet had no love, I were nothing. And though I bestowed all my goods to feed the poor, and though I gave my body even that I burned, and yet had no love, it profiteth me nothing.” (1 Cor, xiii.) These are godly gifts,

yet St. Paul calleth them nothing when a man hath them without charity ; which is a great commendation, and a great necessity of love, insomuch that all other virtues be in vain when this love is absent. And there have been some which thought that St. Paul spake against the dignity of faith ; but you must understand that St. Paul speaketh here not of the justifying faith, wherewith we receive everlasting life, but he understandeth by this word faith, the gift to do miracles, to remove hills ; of such a faith he speaketh. This I say to the confirmation of this proposition, faith only justifieth : this proposition is most true and certain. And St. Paul speaketh not here of this lively justifying faith ; for this right faith is not without love, for love cometh and floweth out of faith, love is a child of faith ; for no man can love except he believe, so that they have two several offices, they themselves being unseparable.

St. Paul hath a saying in the thirteenth chapter of the first of the Corinthians, which after the outward letter seemed much to the dispraise of this faith, and to the praise of love ; these be his words, *Nunc autem manent, fides, spes, charitas, tria hæc, major autem horum est charitas,* “ Now abideth faith, hope, and love, even these three ; but the chiefest of these is love.” There be some learned men, which expound this majority of which St. Paul speaketh here for diuturnity. For when we come to God, then we believe no more, but rather see with our eyes face to face how he is ; yet for all that, love remaineth still : so that love may be called the chiefest, because she endureth for ever. And though she be the chiefest, yet we must not attribute unto her, the office which pertaineth unto faith only. Like as I cannot say, the mayor of Stamford must make me a pair of shoes, because he is a greater man than the shoemaker is ; for the mayor, though he be the greater man, yet it is not his office to make shoes ; so though love be greater, yet it is not her office to save. Thus much I thought good to say against those which fight against the truth.

Now, when we will know which be in his livery or not, we must learn it of St. Paul which most evidently described charity, which is the very livery, saying, *Charitas patiens est,* “ Love is patient, she suffereth long.” Now whosoever fumeth and is angry, he is out of his livery : therefore let

besides, yet is it to no other purpose, it doth them no good : for when we shall come at the great day before him, having not this livery (that is, love) with us, then we are lost ; he will not take us for his servants, because we have not his cognizance : but and if we have this livery, if we wear his cognizance here in this world ; that is, if we love our neighbour, help him in his distress, be charitable, loving, and friendly unto him, then we shall be known at the last day : but if we be uncharitable towards our neighbour, hate him, seek our own commodity with his damage, then we shall be rejected of Christ and so damned world without end.

Our Saviour saith here in this gospel, *Hæc mando vobis ut diligatis vos invicem*, “ I command you, (*hæc*) those things : ” he speaketh in the plural number, and lappeth it up in one thing which is, that we shall love one another, much like St. Paul’s saying in the thirteenth to the Romans, *Nemini quicquam debeat is, quam ut diligatis vos invicem*, “ Owe nothing to any man, but to love one another.” Here St. Paul lappeth up all things together, signifying unto us, that love is the consummation of the law ; for this commandment, “ Thou shalt not commit adultery,” is contained in this law of love : for he that loveth God will not break wedlock, because wedlock breaking is a dishonouring of God and serving of the devil. *Non occides*, “ Thou shalt not kill : ” he that loveth will not kill, he will do no harm. *Non furtum facies*, “ Thou shalt not steal ; ” he that loveth his neighbour as himself, will not take away his goods. I had of late occasion to speak of picking and stealing, where I shewed unto you the danger wherein they be that steal their neighbours’ goods from them, but I hear nothing yet of restitution. Sirs, I tell you, except restitution be made, look for no salvation. And it is a miserable and heinous thing to consider that we be so blinded with this world, that rather than we would make restitution, we will sell unto the devil our souls which are bought with the blood of our Saviour Christ. What thing can be done more to the dishonouring of Christ, than to cast our souls away to the devil for the value of a little money ? The soul which he hath bought with his painful passion and death ? But I tell you those that will do so, and that will not make restitution when they have done wrong, or taken away their neighbour’s goods, they be not in the livery of Christ,

they be not his servants; let them go as they will in this world, yet for all that they be foul and filthy enough before God; they stink before his face; and therefore they shall be cast from his presence into everlasting fire: this shall be all their good cheer that they shall have, for because they have not the livery of Christ, nor his cognizance, which is love. They remember not that Christ commanded us, saying, *Hæc præcipio vobis, ut diligatis invicem,* “ This I command you, that ye love one another.” This is Christ’s commandment. Moses, the great prophet of God, gave many laws, but he gave not the spirit to fulfil the same laws: but Christ gave this law, and promised unto us, that when we call upon him he will give us his Holy Ghost, which shall make us able to fulfil his laws, though not so perfectly as the law requireth; but yet to the contention of God, and to the protection of our faith: for as long as we be in this world, we can do nothing as we ought to do, because our flesh leadeth us, which is ever bent against the law of God; yet our works which we do are well taken for Christ’s sake, and God will reward them in heaven.

Therefore our Saviour saith, *Jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve,* “ My yoke is easy, and my burden is light,” for because he helpeth to bear them; else indeed we should not be able to bear them. And in another place he saith, *Præcepta ejus gravia non sunt,* “ his commandments be not heavy;” they be heavy to our flesh, but being qualified with the Spirit of God, to the faithful which believe in Christ, to them, I say, they be not heavy; for though their doings be not perfect, yet they are well taken for Christ’s sake.

You must not be offended because the scripture commendeth love so highly, for he that commendeth the daughter, commendeth the mother; for love is the daughter, and faith is the mother: love floweth out of faith; where faith is, there is love; but yet we must consider their offices, faith is the hand wherewith we take hold on everlasting life.

Now let us enter into ourselves, and examine our own hearts, whether we be in the livery of God, or no: and when we find ourselves to be out of this livery, let us repent and amend our lives, so that we may come again to the favour of God, and spend our time in this world to his honour and glory,

forgiving our neighbours all such things as they have done against us.

And now to make an end: Mark here who gave this precept of love, Christ our Saviour himself: when and at what time? At his departing, when he should suffer death: therefore these words ought the more to be regarded, seeing he himself spake them at his last departing from us. God of his mercy give us grace so to walk here in this world, charitably and friendly one with another, that we may attain the joy which God hath prepared for all those that love him. *Amen.*

THE SERMON

PREACHED

AT BEXTERLY, ON CHRISTMAS-DAY, 1552,

BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

LUKE ii. 7.

Factum est autem in diebus illis : exiit decretum à Cæsare, &c.

THIS gospel maketh special mention of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, declaring how Mary, with her husband Joseph, came after the commandment of the emperor, from Nazareth unto Bethlehem, the city of David, of whose lineage and tribe she was ; what miseries and calamities she suffered by the way, and how poor and miserable she was, having nothing that pertained to a woman being in her case, you may right well consider : and as touching his nativity, his poverty, how he was born in a stable among beasts, lacking all manner of necessary things which appertained to young children : insomuch that he had neither cradle nor clouts. Wherefore Mary his mother wrapped him, as it is most like, in her own apparel, and laid him in a manger, where he was shewed, not to the rulers of this world, neither to kings, potentates, or bishops ; but rather to simple shepherds, and poor servants keeping their sheep in the field. To these poor wretches the angel of God was sent which proclaimed these great things unto them ; saying, “ Be not afraid, for behold I bring you tidings of great gladness that shall come to all people : for unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord, &c.

This is the greatest comfort in the world, to know that our Saviour is born, that he is abroad, and at hand unto every one that calleth upon him. What greater gladness can be unto a man that feeleth his sin, and seeth his damnation before his

eyes; unto such a man nothing is more acceptable than to hear that there is a Saviour which will help him and heal his sores. Therefore this message of the angel was very joyful tidings.

The angel bad them go unto Bethlehem and to search for the child: and forthwith a great many of angels came together rejoicing, singing, and praising God for our sakes, that the Redeemer of mankind was born into the world. For without him nothing availeth in the sight of God the Father; without him no man can praise God, because it hath pleased God for his Son's sake only, to shew himself favourable and loving unto mankind, and to receive only that prayer which is made unto him in the name of Christ our Saviour. Therefore all those which come without him before God, shall be rejected as persons rebellious against God and his constitutions. For the will, pleasure, and counsel of God is, to receive only those which come to him in the name of his Son our Saviour, which know themselves, lament their own sins, and confess their own naughtiness and wickedness, and put their whole trust and confidence only in the Son of God the redeemer of mankind, as the angels themselves testify.

Here in this gospel note, that here was singing and rejoicing, for the great and unspeakable goodness and mercy of Almighty God the Father, whom it pleased to redeem mankind through the death of his only, natural, and most dearly beloved Son our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, very God and very man, the son of God after his godhead, the son of Mary after his manhood; which he hath taken upon him for man's sake, to redeem and deliver the same from all misery, and to set him at unity with God the Father, and finally to bring him to everlasting life.

Now it followeth in the text, "As soon as the angels were gone from them," &c. Mark here that the angels as soon as they had done their business, they returned unto their master which had sent them. By the which all good and godly servants may learn, that whosoever their masters send them on their business, they ought to do the same diligently, and quickly to return again to their masters; not spending the time in loitering and lewdness, as the common sort of servants do in these days; clean contrary to the example of these angels of God; which returned to God immediately after

their message was done. And would to God that all servants would consider this, and keep in remembrance these angels of God : for if this were well considered, there would not be so great complaints of the lewd service of servants as there is every where ; God amend it.

We read here that the angels appeared visibly and in sight ; by the which we shall consider, that whensoever or wheresoever the word of God is preached, there are the angels present, which keep in safe custody all those which receive the word of God, and study to live after it : for St. Paul calleth them, *Administratores Spiritus*, “ The administrators and servants of the Spirit.” (Heb. i.) Therefore seeing the angels are present, it is meet for us to come with great reverence to the word of God, where himself with his angels are present.

“ The angels return to heaven,” &c. Here I will not dispute before you, where heaven is, nor how many heavens there be. Such obscure questions appertain not to you that are ignorant and unlearned. For this is sufficient for you to know, that wheresoever God doth exhibit and shew himself, there is heaven. God is every where, as he saith, *Cælum et terram impleo*, “ I fill heaven and earth ;” but wheresoever most apparently he exhibiteth himself to his saints and angels, the same properly is called heaven, and thither went these angels after they had done their message, to wait upon the Lord, ready to go and do all that which he would command them. Wherein you may learn the great love and kindness of God the heavenly Father, which hath made and created them for our sakes, to this end, that they should defend and keep us from our strong and mighty enemy the prince of this world, the devil, whose power passeth all man’s power : insomuch that except God did preserve us from him by the ministration of his obedient angels, we should all perish both soul and body. But thanks be unto God which never ceaseth to provide for us, to preserve both our souls and bodies. But mark here, that we are not bound to call upon the angels when we hear that they serve us ; but rather to give God thanks in them that he hath vouchsafed to set such watchmen about us. Therefore learn only to hope and trust in the Lord, and give laud and thanks unto him, like as the angels themselves do,

singing with great pleasant voice, as Luke saith. This is enough of the angels. Now let us come to the shepherds.

"The shepherds said one to another, Let us go unto Bethlehem, and see these things which we hear say is happened, that the Lord hath shewed unto us." Here note the faith of these poor shepherds which believed the saying of the angels so stedfastly, that they were ready to go and do after the commandment of the said angels. They did not as many of us do, which are so slothful that we will scant abide one hour to hear the word of God. And when we have heard the same, we believe it not, we regard it not, it goeth in at one ear and out at the other. Wherefore it is not to be marvelled that God is angry with us, seeing we are so forgetful and unthankful for his great and exceeding benefits shewed unto us in these latter days of the world.

This is a comfortable place for servants which should be more diligent in their business than they be, considering that God regardeth them so much, that he is content to open his great and high mysteries unto servants first, setting aside all kings and rulers in this world, which are only esteemed in the sight of men. Here therefore, learn, O ye servants, and consider that God no less regardeth you than the greatest lords in the world, if you live after his commandments, which is, that you shall serve your masters truly and uprightly, and not with a feigned heart.

"Let us go to Bethlehem, saith the shepherds." Here is to be noted in these shepherds a great charity among themselves, in that one exhorteth another to go to follow the word of God. Many folks nowadays agree and exhort themselves to do wickedly, to steal, to pick, and to do all lewdness: but to exhort their neighbours to do any goodness as those shepherds did, they will not agree. Therefore let us not be ashamed to learn of these poor shepherds, to follow their examples. When we hear the word of God let us exhort one another to follow the same, and let us agree in goodness, to seek Christ and to follow him according to his word, and then we shall find him. Let the curate exhort his parishioners, to follow the commandments of God; let the householder exhort his wife, children, servants, and family to the seeking of Christ;

let every neighbour exhort another to goodness, yea let every one consider that no one person is born into the world for his own sake, but for the commonwealth sake. Let us therefore walk charitably, not seeking our own commodities, but the honour and glory of God, and the wealth of all christians, with exhortations, admonitions and prayers one for another, that the name of God may be magnified among us, and his will known and fulfilled. Of these poor shepherds we may learn much goodness, yea the best doctor of divinity need not be ashamed to learn of them, and to follow their ensamples, which are now saints in heaven, and the inheritors of everlasting life.

But yet we must beware that we go not too far. For we may not make gods of them, nor call upon them, as we have been taught in times past, because God will be called upon, honoured, and worshipped alone : he may not suffer any to be fellow with him ; as he himself saith, “ I give mine honour to none.” (Isaiah xlii.) Therefore we must call upon him only, and seek all manner of comfort at his hand, which is the fountain of all goodness, and not at saints. But if thou wilt needs worship them, will you hear how you shall worship them ? live godly and uprightly after their ensample, follow their charitable life and stedfast faith, then you worship them as they ought to be worshipped. But to call upon them is not a worship, but a detestable idolatry ; because, as I said before, we must call upon God only, and not saints. For when we call upon them, we make them gods, and then we put God out of his seat, and place them in it ; which manner of doing God cannot suffer unpunished, and therefore beware.

Further, we learn in this gospel the nature of very true and unfeigned faith. These shepherds, as soon as the angels were gone from them, they laid their heads together and consulted what was to be done : and at the length with one consent concluded to forsake and set aside all their flocks of sheep and cattle, and go unto Bethlehem to seek the Saviour. Here appeareth their excellent, marvellous, and great faith ; for they were in peril of body and goods. To leave a flock of sheep a whole night without a shepherd, could not be done without great danger, for that the same country, as is said before, brought forth many wild and harmful beasts; ready to devour

the whole flock of sheep in one night; as we read of a lion had killed a prophet, but not without the sufferance of God: also of the lion which Samson killed when he went to see his new married wife: also we read in the scripture, of two bears that killed at one instant forty-four young children that mocked the prophet Elisha. So that it appeareth partly by the holy scripture, and partly by other writers (as Josephus) that the same country is full of such manner of devouring beasts. Therefore to leave a flock of sheep without a shepherd was a great matter for them to do which were but servants, and were bound to make amends for all that should happen to be lost; as we read of Jacob, which ever made good out of his own flock unto Laban his father-in-law when any thing had been lost. So it appeareth that these shepherds were in peril of body and goods, for if they had not been able to make amends, then they themselves should have been sold to perpetual slavery and bondage, like horses or brute beasts. But faith when it is not feigned, feareth no peril nor danger; a faithful man knoweth that God is able to defend him, and to help him in all tribulation. And here is verified the saying of our Saviour Christ, that "whosoever shall lose his life, shall find it." (Matt. xvi.) These shepherds put their lives in adventure, yea, they put themselves in the greatest peril that might be: but at the length they found the Saviour, which restored to them their souls, and bodies, and everlasting life. Here we may learn to be hearty, and to do manfully for the gospel's sake, believing undoubtedly that God is able and will preserve us in the midst of all our tribulations, so that we do that which is our duty to do; that is, to live and die in God's quarrel, and so to forsake ourselves, that we may find him which will give us life everlasting.

Further, here may all those be ashamed which set so much by this world, that they cannot find in their hearts to forego one farthing for God's sake. Such shall receive their judgment of these shepherds that were so hearty in God's cause, and not without peril of their lives. Therefore return, Oh thou covetous heart, return to God, amend thy life: consider the momentary and short time that thou hast here to live, and that when thou shalt depart hence, thou must be judged after thine own wickedness. And the more careful thou art to keep

thy money and substance, the sooner shalt thou lose both that and thy soul also, which is the greatest treasure above all other.

“ They came with haste unto Bethlehem,” &c. Here let every man learn quickly to go about his business to the which God hath appointed him ; and especially servants may learn here to do their business truly and speedily, not spending the time in vain, going up and down when their masters are absent: but rather to be diligent, knowing that they serve not only their bodily master, but Christ himself, as St. Paul saith : therefore consider this, O ye servants, and know that God will reward you for your well doing, and again punish you for your slothfulness and deceitful doings.

“ They found Mary and Joseph, and the babe laid in a manger, according to the saying of the angel,” &c. Here let every man follow the ensample of the angel, which told the shepherds no lies : so let every man be upright in his talk, and talk nothing abroad, except he be sure that it be so. For when you do otherwise, you follow not this angel. Make no manner of promise, neither great nor small, except you be able to keep it. Above all things beware of perjury and lies, which are abominable in the sight of God, as the prophet saith, *Odisti qui loquuntur mendacium linguis suis*, that is to say, “ Thou hatest those, O God, that speak lies with their tongue.” (Prov. vi.) But God knoweth that many things are now promised, and nothing performed. Every man is more liberal in speech than in deed ; whereas it should be contrary. Likewise servants are not angels when they deal deceitfully with their masters, and when they are slothful in their doings, not regarding their promise made unto their masters. For they promise to serve diligently in all manner of business, which God knoweth is not kept by a great many of servants : yea, there is none serve as they ought for to do, therefore all such are not as angels.

“ The same Mary, Joseph, and the babe,” &c. Here we may not take heed of the order of this speech or writing ; as, Mary is set before her child : *Ergo*, she hath more authority than her child hath. As the bishop of Rome maketh an argument saying, Peter is ever first named before the apostles, *Ergo*, he is the principal and chief apostle, and all the other

are subjects unto him. Which manner of reasoning is false. For after that reasoning, Mary should be more esteemed than our Saviour, which were abominable and clean against the verity of the scripture: and therefore the setting and placing of names in scripture is not to be observed, nor no arguments may be made after that manner, which be set first or last.

“They find Mary and Joseph; and the child lying in a manger.” Here is the faith of the shepherds proved. They had heard a voice from heaven which promised unto them a Saviour, and now when they come, they find nothing but a poor infant lying in a manger. This was a great matter to them, for they thought they should have found him keeping a state after his name, that is, like a Saviour; but they found a poor child, which after man’s reason was not able to help himself: notwithstanding, they had conceived such a strong and hearty faith, which faith preserved them from all such outward storms and offences. By the which we may learn of these shepherds not to be offended with the poor kingdom that our Saviour kept in this world: for we see most commonly that the rich and wealthy of this world despise and contemn the word of God. Let us therefore be despised in this world with Christ our king, that we may have afterward with him everlasting life, when the proud and sturdy fellows shall be thrust into everlasting fire. For these shepherds were not offended with the poverty of our Saviour, and did therefore stay and meddle no further, but they went forth and preached and talked of it to other folks; which thing they could not do without peril of their lives. For the Pharisees and spirituality were so stubborn that they would suffer none other doctrine to be taught than their own phantasies: as it appeared afterward when they killed Christ himself, and after him a great number of the apostles: yet for all that these poor shepherds were content to lose their lives in God’s quarrel. Therefore they go and teach their neighbours and others how the Messias and Saviour of the world was born of a virgin, and how the angel of God had opened it unto them.

But what followed of their teaching, or what became of it? It begot a wondering and a gazing: every body marvelled at it, and was desirous to talk of it, because it was a new matter, as we see in this our time, a great number of people pretend

the gospel, and bear the name of gospellers, because it is a new thing, and therefore it is the more pleasant unto them. So was it at that time, every body would talk of it in all places, but there were few or none that believed. For we read not that any of them went forth to seek the child, and so to confirm his or their faith; no, there was none. It was but a talk, and so they used it: wherein you may note the unfaithfulness and unthankfulness of this world, which will not receive the great benefits of God offered unto us. The shepherds told them how the angel of God had opened the matter to them, but the foolish people would not believe it. And even so at this time the preachers go abroad and shew unto the people what God hath done for them, how he hath delivered them from sin, death, and hell. But the people are so blinded with unthankfulness, that they will not believe the benefits of God, nor receive them, but make a gazing and a wondering at the matter.

But what did Mary the mother of Christ? What did she? The evangelist saith, "she pondered it in her heart," she weighed the matter with herself. She did not as our well-spoken dames do: she took not in hand to preach: she knew that silence in a woman is a great virtue, therefore she made nothing of the matter: she boasted not of her stock, to be of the lineage of noble king David; neither did she praise her own child, but would rather hear him to be praised of another; she tarried until the Lord himself had opened the matter: neither would she be too hasty in promoting herself to honour.

Here may all women learn to follow the ensample of Mary, to leave their talk and vain speaking, and to keep silence. For what was the cause of the fall of mankind, but the unmeasurable talk of Eve which took in hand to reason the matter with the serpent; she thought herself very learned, and able to convince him? So are there too many now which take too much upon them. Such women may learn here of Mary to keep their tongues in better order. All women commonly make much of the mother of Christ, yea, some call upon her: but for all that they will not follow her ensample and goodness.

Further, here is to be noted, the temptation, and trial where-with Mary was tempted and tried. She heard of the angel that she should bring forth a Saviour, whose kingdom should

last for ever. And now that he is born, there cometh nobody to visit him but poor shepherds ; which seemed strange unto her, and such as might make her much to marvel at the matter, and to overthrow her faith. But Mary comforted herself with the word and promise of God, which was that her son should reign for ever. This she believed, and therefore took no harm of the said temptation or trial, but rather much good ; for this visitation of the shcpherds, was an establishment of her faith, and a great increase of the same. And here is verified the saying of St. Paul, *Bonis omnia cooperantur in bonum*, “ All things work for the best to them that love God.” (Rom. viii.)

Further, by these shepherds we learn, that God is not partial, he hath not respect to any person, neither to the rich, wise, nor mighty ; but he delighteth in those which are meek and lowly in spirit, unto such God openeth himself ; as Christ saith, *Ago tibi gratias, Pater*, “ I thank thee, heavenly Father, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise men of this world, and hast opened them unto the simple.” (Matt. xi.) Which saying of Christ is verified now upon us ; for God hath hidden the divine mysteries of his word from the pope, cardinals, bishops, and the great learned men of this world, and hath opened it unto us: therefore let us be thankful for his innumerable benefits poured upon us so richly and abundantly, let us follow therefore the ensample of these shepherds. Let us come to Bethlehem, that is to Christ, with an earnest mind, and hearty zeal to hear the word of God, and then follow it indeed ; for not the hearer shall be saved, but the doer and follower thereof; (James i.) as he saith, “ Not those that call me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but those which do the will of my Father which is in heaven.” (Matt. vii.) Wherefore let us follow the word of God, let us glorify and magnify his holy name in all our works and conversations, wherein consisteth the very thankfulness and true service which we owe unto him.

“ And the shepherds returned lauding and praising God, for all the things that they had heard and seen,” &c. They were not made religious men, nor monks, but returned again to their business, and to their occupation : where we learn every man to follow his occupation and vocation, and not to leave the same, except God call him from it to another ; for God would

have every man to live in that order that he hath ordained for him. And no doubt, the man that plieth his occupation truly, without any fraud or deceit, the same is acceptable to God, and he shall have everlasting life.

We read a pretty story of St. Anthony, which being in the wilderness, led there a very hard and strait life, insomuch that none at that time did the like, to whom came a voice from heaven, saying, Anthony, thou art not so perfect as is a cobbler that dwelleth at Alexandria. Anthony hearing this, rose up forthwith, and took his staff and went till he came to Alexandria, where he found the cobbler. The cobbler was astonished to see so reverend a father come to his house. Then Anthony said unto him, Come and tell me thy whole conversation, and how thou spendest thy time? Sir, said the cobbler, as for me, good works have I none, for my life is but simple and slender; I am but a poor cobbler: in the morning when I rise, I pray for the whole city wherein I dwell, specially for all such neighbours and poor friends as I have: after, I set me at my labour, where I spend the whole day in getting my living, and I keep me from all falsehood, for I hate nothing so much as I do deceitfulness: wherefore, when I make to any man a promise, I keep it and perform it truly; and thus I spend my time poorly, with my wife and children, whom I teach and instruct, as far as my wit will serve me, to fear and dread God. And this is the sum of my simple life.

In this story, you see how God loveth those that follow their vocation and live uprightly, without any falsehood in their dealing. This Anthony was a great holy man, yet this cobbler was as much esteemed before God as he.

Here I might take occasion to speak of all estates, and what pertaineth to every one of them, but the time is past; I will therefore make an end, without any rehearsal or recital of that which is already said. The Lord of heaven and earth make us diligent and ready to do his will, and live after his commandment, and so to come finally to everlasting life, through Christ our Lord: to whom, with God the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever, world without end. *Amen, Amen.*

THE SERMON,

PREACHED

*UPON SAINT STEPHEN'S DAY, 1552, AT GRIMSTHORPE,
BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.*

LUKE ii. 6, 7.

And it fortuned that while they were there, her time was come that she should be delivered, and she brought forth her first-begotten son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.

I SHEWED you yesterday, right worshipful audience, what was the occasion that Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Redeemer, came to Bethlehem, where it was prophesied that he should be born. The occasion was this, Octavius being emperor over that great empire of Rome, at that time when Christ should be born, (as it was prophesied he should be born while the second temple stood.) Now this Octavius sent out a general proclamation, that all countries underneath his dominion should be taxed, and to give him a certain sum of money.

Now God intended another thing. Octavius with this proclamation sought nothing but to fill his purse, and to make money, but God sought occasion that way to fulfil his prophecy: for it was prophesied a long time, that Christ should be born at Bethlehem. Now she could not come thither except by some occasion, and therefore this was the occasion, namely, that she should come and be taxed, and pay a certain money to the officers. And here we shall consider and weigh the obedience that Mary the mother of Christ and her husband shewed toward the magistrates, that she was content to take such a great journey in hand with her husband Joseph, to shew herself obedient unto the magistrates. And here I took occasion the last time to speak somewhat of obedience, how we ought to shew ourselves obedient in all things which be not against God. I think of this matter we cannot speak too much, for it is a thing most necessary to be known. For if the parents of our

Saviour were content to be obedient to a heathen king, how much more should we shew ourselves obedient unto our natural king, which feedeth us with the holy word of God, and seeketh not alone our bodily health and wealth, but also the health of our souls? How much more ought we to reverence him and honour him, which not tyrannously ruleth over us, as Octavius did over the Jews, but most lovingly governeth us, seeking not his own commodities but our good estate?

Now by this occasion, as I told you, namely, to shew themselves obedient, came Joseph and Mary unto Bethlehem, a long journey, and poor folks, and peradventure on foot: for we read of no great horses that she had, as our great ladies have nowadays. Now he that would shew the good behaviour that was between them two, he must surely have much time. We read of no falling out between them, or any ill behaviour on either side. Wherefore all husbands may learn by Joseph, to do their duties toward their wives, and again all wives may learn by her.

Well, she was great with child, and was now come to Bethlehem. A wonderful thing to consider the works of God. The Emperor Octavius served God's purpose, and yet knew nothing of him; for he knew not what manner of man was born, at that time when his proclamation was sent out. But John Baptist, that went before our Saviour Christ, he shewed what manner of man Christ was, when he said, *Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." (John i.)

By these words is shewed to what end Christ was sent into the world, namely, to take away sins. And before this, Zachary the father of John Baptist, brake forth into praising of God, saying, *Benedictus Israel*, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up a horn of salvation." Now if Zachary because of the birth of John, rejoiced in God, how much more should we laud and praise God, that Christ our Saviour himself is born? for John Baptist was the precursor. He was but a servant of God; yet Zachary his father so much rejoiced in him. How much I say shall we praise God, that the Lord above all lords hath taken upon him our humanity, and is made man, for this great benefit; that he would vouchsafe to humble himself so much, as to take our nature upon

him, for this cause, to deliver us out of the hands of the old serpent the devil, in whose kingdom and dominion all mankind should have been, if this Saviour had not come into the world.

And thus his first coming is but very poorly, without any jollity or pomp, but his second coming (as I have told you many a time before) shall be a glorious coming, a beautiful coming; for he shall come accompanied with all his Angels; he shall come with such clearness, that the sun and the moon shall be darkened at his coming, not that the sun itself of his substance shall be darkened, no not so; for it shall give his light, but it shall not be seen for this great light and clearness, wherein our Saviour shall appear. Now at the first he is come, not with glory or majesty, but with great poverty and misery, which he hath sustained for our sakes.

We have here to consider the great benefits of God the almighty Father, that it hath pleased him through his great goodness and love which he bare towards us which were his enemies, that it hath pleased him, I say, to give unto us for our sakes his only Son into these miseries and calamities, and to suffer him to take our nature upon him, and to deliver us by his most painful and grievous passion. We cannot express the worthiness of it, but though we are not able to express it, yet we must do as much as we can.

Now for to come to the knowledge of this benefit, you must consider first what he was before he was incarnate and made man: for when we know what he was before he was made man, then we shall know what he hath done for us.

Now therefore you must know, that he was the natural Son of God, yea God himself, the Lord and King over heaven and earth, through whom all things were made and created, and by whom all things are kept and sustained, ruled and governed; that same God, that same Son of God, refused not to humble himself far beyond all measure, to take upon him such a vile nature, for he was made very man.

You must not think as the Arians did, which said that he was not a very man, nor suffered very pains upon the cross, but had a fantastical body. And I know where there was one of such an erroneous opinion, not many years since, he belonged to a great man at that time. Beware therefore of this opinion, and believe stedfastly that he was a very natural man, sin

excepted. Again, we must believe that he was God's Son, not by adoption, as we be, for we all be adopted and taken for the children of God. But he was before the world began with God, the very natural Son of God, and God himself, very God's Son without a mother, like as he was very man without a father. I will prove him to be very God, because we are commanded to call upon him. Now ye know that to call upon God, is to honour God. And God saith in his word that he will give his honour unto nobody, but Christ hath the honour of God, therefore he must needs be very God. And here we have occasion to be sorry that we have called upon saints, and so deprived God of his honour and dignity, and made them tutelary gods. But Christ is he on whom we must call, and put our confidence in : for it is written, " All the kings of the world shall honour him, and call upon his name." And therefore here it appeareth most manifestly that he is very God, coequal unto the Father after his divinity.

You have heard this day in the service of St. Stephen, how he called upon Christ, saying, *Domine Jesu, suscipe spiritum meum*, " Lord Jesus, take thou my spirit :" (Acts v.) lifting up his eyes unto heaven, signifying that Christ is very God ; which thing, no doubt, St. Stephen would not have done, if Christ had not been very God.

Now this day is St. Stephen's day, which was put to death because he rebuked the stubbornness of the wicked priests and bishops, which bishops stirred up false witness against him, and so stoned him, but well is he that ever he was born.

Now therefore if you will worship St. Stephen, I will tell you how ye shall worship him. Consider his faith and heartiness which he had in God's cause; and pray unto God that thou mayest have such a strong faith as he had, that thou mayest be ready to forsake the world, and suffer for the word of God, like as he hath done. Also further pray unto God, that thou mayest have such a strong faith to pray unto him, as St. Stephen had. This is the right worshipping of St. Stephen, to follow his ensample, but not to call upon him.

But I marvel much how it came to pass that upon this day we were wont to let our horses blood : it is like as though St. Stephen had some great government over the horses, which

thing no doubt is a vain invention of man. We ought to commit ourselves, and all that we have, under the governance of God, and not to be so foolish as to commit them unto saints. God grant us that we may say with a good faith from the bottom of our hearts, *Domine Jesu, suscipe spiritum nostrum*, "Lord Jesu, receive our spirits." Further, Christ himself shewed most manifestly what he was, for he hath witnesses enough; the Father, the Holy Ghost, John Baptist, and the works which he did: and finally he himself witnesseth what he is, for he saith, *Qui credit in me habet vitam æternam*, "He that believeth in me, hath everlasting life." Here is plainly shewed by his own words what he was, namely, the Redeemer of mankind, and very God; for nobody can give everlasting life save only God. But Christ giveth everlasting life, *ergo*, he is very natural God. And in another place, he saith, *Quemadmodum Pater mortuos suscitat, sic et Filius*, "Like as the Father raiseth up the dead, so doth the Son too:" where it most manifestly appeareth, that he is equal unto the Father; they work their works together unseparably. This I tell you, to the intent that you should consider with yourselves what Christ was before he took our nature upon him: and again, to consider what he hath done for us, and how exceedingly he hath humbled himself.

Now I will shew you what man is of his own nature left unto himself; but I will not speak of that singular Son of man, which was Christ, for he had two natures in unity of persons; he was very God and very man, he was a privileged man from all other men; that man never sinned, therefore I speak not of him, but of the nature which mankind hath inherited of Adam after he had sinned; for as he was, that is, a sinful wicked man, disobedient unto the word of God, such he brought into the world. Now what is man, what is the nature of the son of Adam? I speak not of Christ, for he was not born of the seed of Adam. When we know what man is, then we shall perceive what great benefit we have received of God the Father Almighty, in that he hath sent his only Son to be a sacrifice for us, and to help us out of the estate of damnation, and to remedy this impureness of our nature.

Now this our nature, David, the holy king and prophet, describeth with few words, saying, *Ecco iniquitatibus natus*

sum, et in peccatis concepit, “ Lo, in iniquity am I born, and in sin, hath my mother conceived me.” (Ps. li.) Which words are not so to be understood, as though the act of generation, and the lawful use of matrimony were unclean before God. He speaketh not here of the lawful bed-company that is between married folks: for this hath his warrant in scripture, in God's book ; therefore he speaketh not here of the company that is between man and wife, but he doth signify by his words, what he had inherited of his parents, of Adam, namely, sin and wickedness : and he speaketh not of himself only but of all mankind : he painteth us out in our own colour ; shewing that we all are contaminate from our birth with sin, and so should justly be firebrands in hell world without end. This the holy prophet shewed in these words, to put us in remembrance of our own wretchedness, to teach us to despair of our own holiness and righteousness, and to seek our help and comfort by that Messias whom God hath promised our forefathers, and now hath fulfilled the same promise.

Another scripture signifieth unto us further what we be of ourselves, of our own nature, for it is written, *Omnis homo mendax*, “ Every man is a liar ;” therefore man is not clean, but full of falsehood and deceit, and all manner of sin and wickedness, yet we may learn what we be of our own nature, namely, poisoned and corrupt with all manner of uncleanness. Another scripture we have, which saith to this purpose, *Dominus de calo dispexit, et omnes declinaverunt simul inutiles facti sunt*, “ The Lord looked down from heaven, to see if there were any man that did well ; but they were all declined, they were all naught together.” (Psal. xiv.) God looked down to consider whether there were some that had understanding of him or not. What brought he to pass ? what found he when he made inquisition ? Marry this, *Omnes declinaverunt*, “ All men have declined from God, there was not one that did good, no not one.” Here we may perceive what we be of ourselves, of our own nature. And again, here we may see what Christ the Son of God hath done for us : what inestimable benefits we have received at his hands, namely, to suffer for us and to cleanse us from all our sins and wickedness, to make us just before the face of God, to purge us from all iniquity, as well from original sin as actual : for if

he had not done so, we should never have been able to escape the wrath of God : for *Quinquid natus ex carne caro est*, “ Whatsoever is born of flesh is flesh ;” that is to say, is sinful, wicked, and so destitute of the glory of God, and the child of the devil ;—if Christ had not been come and cleansed our filthiness, if he had not suffered death for us we had perished. Now before he suffered, he was born and lived a great while in this miserable world, or else he could not have suffered if he had not been born, for no man can suffer before he be alive. Further it is written in God’s book, *Conclusit Deus omnes sub peccato omnium misereatur*, “ God hath concluded all mankind under sin ;” (Gal. iii.) so that all mankind was sinful and destitute of the favour of God, save only Christ.

Wherefore I pray you have I rehearsed all these scriptures ? Marry, to this intent I have rehearsed them, to bring you to knowledge how great need we have had of Christ : for no doubt if we had not had him ; all mankind should have been damned, yea the best of us world without end. But that we have deliverance, that the kingdom of heaven is opened unto us, that same brought he to pass with his passion ; for he took upon him our nature, and so deserved for us everlasting life : for by him we have it, and therefore we must thank him for it, we must to him give all honour and praise.

It is a great unity between the two natures in Christ, between the manhood and godhead : for the body and the soul make a man, but the manhood and the godhead are joined so together, they make but one Christ, and yet they are not confounded, so that the godhead is not turned into the manhood, neither the manhood into the godhead. And thus Christ, which was very God and very man, died not for himself nor of necessity (for death had no right unto him) because he was without sin, but he died for our sakes, willingly, without any compulsion, moved by the great love that he bare unto man : and therefore he saith, *Nemo tollit animam meam, à me, sed ego repono illum*, “ No man taketh away my life, but I myself put it away ; but I will receive it again : I am willing to die, for by my death I will destroy the kingdom of the devil ; and by my death all mankind shall be saved.” (John x.) And here he shewed himself what he was, namely,

very God ; for he had power over death, and not death over him : and so he died not by compulsion, but willingly ; for it was his will and pleasure to help us, and deliver us from our wretchedness ; for nothing could help us else, but the death of the eternal Son of God.

And here you may note by the way, what a heinous thing sin is before the face of God, how he abhorreth sin, that he would be with nothing reconciled, save only with the death of his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. And this shall make us to hate sin, and not to fall willingly and wittingly into any kind of sin again, but rather to live uprightly and godly, according unto his will and commandment : seeing that he beareth such a loving and fatherly heart towards us, that he spared not his only Son, but gave him even to the most vile and painful death for our sakes ; for our sins and wickedness sake.

David, that holy man, when he considered this great benefit, what saith he ? He fell into these words, *Quid retribuam Domino, pro omnibus quæ tribuit mihi ?* “ What shall I give unto the Lord for all those things which he hath given unto me ? ” Then he maketh himself answer, and saith, *Nomen Domini invocoabo*, “ I will call upon the name of the Lord : I will take the cup of health ; ” (Psal. cxvi.) that is to say, I will bear the cross that he shall lay upon me willingly, without any grudging. Now therefore let us say so too ; O Lord, what shall we give unto thee again ? what amends shall we make thee, seeing thou hast given us thine only natural Son, which took upon him our vile nature, and suffered most painful death ? For that we have a brother in heaven, what shall we now do ? How shall we shew ourselves thankful ? Marry, *Nomen Domini invocabimus*, “ We will call upon the name of the Lord.” we will praise him for all his goodness, we will shew ourselves thankful with a godly upright conversation. *Calicem salutaris accipiemus*, “ We will take the cup of health ; ” we will bear all calamities and crosses that thou shalt lay upon us willingly, without any grudging. This is all that we can do, and when the devil cometh and tempteth us, as no doubt he will not sleep, we shall defy him, knowing that we have a brother in heaven which hath overcome him and all his power : therefore we shall not need to fear him, or care for him, though he be busy with us, and tempt us in all manner

of things to bring us to destruction. Let us defy him, and give God thanks which so mercifully hath dealt with us, and delivered us from all our sins. Let us take the cross meekly, whatsoever it be; though it be in misery or poverty, or other calamities. Let us be content withal, for they be but examinations and proofs, to provoke us to call upon God, when we feel the burden, and no doubt we shall be heard when we call as we ought to do, that is to say, with a faithful heart; then no doubt he will take them away, so that we shall be no more troubled with them, or else he will mitigate and assuage them in such sort, that we shall be able to bear the burden of them.

“ And she brought forth her first begotten Son.” These words after the outward appearance, sound as though Mary the mother of Christ had more sons than Christ. And there was an heretic which steadfastly said, that Mary had more sons after she had brought forth Christ: and here he took his arguments, saying, We read in scripture that Christ had brethren, which argueth that Mary had more sons besides Christ. Which indeed is a foolish argument against all learning: for we must consider the phrases of the Hebrew tongue. The Jews in their tongue call all those which are kinsmen, brethren, and so the kinsmen of our Saviour were called his brethren, after the manner of their language, not that they had one mother, or that Mary had more sons than Christ; therefore these heretics go far wide to prove that Mary had more sons besides Christ, because we read that he had brethren. Let them consider the propriety of the Hebrew tongue, then they shall soon perceive how fond and foolish their arguments be.

The second argument which these fond fellows make, is this: the Evangelist saith, “ And she brought forth her first begotten son.” By these words they will prove, *ergo*, she had more than one son: Christ was the first begotten, but she had more beside him. Here I would have them to consider this word *primogenitum*, which signifieth him *qui primo aperuit vulvam*, him that first opened the womb; but she had no more, neither before nor after, but was a clear virgin before she brought forth, and after she brought forth him she remained a virgin. And therefore these heretics do wrongfully

violate, toss, and turmoil the scriptures of God, according to their own fantasies and foolish minds.

Another argument they make, taken out of the first chapter of Matthew, where the Evangelist saith, *Et non cognovit illam donec peperisset filium suum primogenitum*, “ And Joseph took his wife, and knew her not till she had brought forth her first-begotten son :” (Matt. ii.) Hereupon they make this argument: “ Joseph knew her not till she had brought forth her first son;” *ergo*, they say, he knew her after; which no doubt is a foolish argument. For the mind of the Evangelist, when he declared Christ to be the first son of Mary, was to prove that he was the son of a virgin, according to the prophecy that was of him, and not to declare that Mary had more children after him, as some do fantasy. For we in our English tongue have such a manner of speaking, when we say, I will never forgive him so long as I live: or when we be ill entreated in a city, we say I will no more come thither so long as I live: By which manner of speaking, we do not signify that we will come thither after our death, or forgive after our death: No. And so likewise it is here, when he saith, “ He knew her not, until she had brought forth her first begotten son.” It followeth not, *ergo*, that he knew her after. Like as it followeth not when I say, I will do this thing no more so long as I live, *ergo*, I will do it after I am dead. And here you may perceive how foolishly and fondly these heretics have handled the scripture.

Now let us go forward, and consider his great extreme poverty. They came to Bethlehem, where they could get never a lodging in no inn, and so were compelled to lie in a stable, and there Mary the mother of Christ brought forth that blessed child, through whom, and in whom all the nations of the earth are and shall be blessed; and there “ she wrapped him in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.” Here began the misery of the Lord over all lords, even at his first coming into this world, when he was laid in a manger, as soon as he was born, to taste poverty and miseries, to make amends for our sins and wickedness, and so to take away from us the wrath of God our heavenly Father, which lay upon all mankind so

heavy, that we should all have been condemned world without end, if this child had not been born into this world.

And here we may learn by this poverty to comfort ourselves when God sendeth poverty unto us, and not to think because we are poor, *ergo*, God hateth us, or will condemn us; but rather consider with ourselves, and call to remembrance the poverty of Christ our Saviour. He was the beloved Son of God, and God himself, and yet he was content to be born in misery, and to sustain most vile poverty, and penury of all manner of those things which are required necessarily to the sustentation of this life. There be some which when they be in trouble say, "Oh, if God loved me, he would not punish me so, he would not suffer me to be vexed so grievously with poverty, and lack of necessaries!" which indeed is not so, for whom God loveth he punisheth. Ensamples we have in David, what troubles, calamities, and miseries he had, and yet God loved him, insomuch that he called him a man after his heart's desire: but though he was well-beloved of God, yet he must taste of miseries and calamities, of which he had not a little; but he ever sticked unto God, who delivered him out of all his trouble.

Now some will say when they hear what poverty our Saviour suffered, and how Mary his mother was compelled to take a stable for lack of a better lodging, O what a wicked city was this? What a company of cruel people were these? But when we consider all things well, we shall find that we be even as wicked as they were. For are not we given nowadays to covetousness, so that we regard not the poor, needy, and miserable people? Seek we not our own commodities, and despise and neglect the poor? Therefore if thou wilt cry out upon the Bethlehemites, then cry out on thyself, for thou art as wicked, yea more wicked than they were. For the most part of all Bethlehem knew nothing of our Saviour Christ that he was born; but we know it, therefore we are inexcusable. God hath sent unto us his preachers, which teach us the way to heaven, they shew us wherein standeth our redemption, they exhort us to godliness, to do good works, to be pitiful, and liberal unto the poor, to help them, and comfort them: but what do we? Marry, we despise the preachers, we abhor their

doctrine, and so consequently refuse Christ himself; for he saith, *Qui vos suscipit, me suscipit*, “ He that receiveth you, receiveth me.” (Matt. x.) This Christ speaketh by his preachers: therefore, as I said before, we need not to cry out against Bethlehem, but let us cry out on ourselves, for we are as ill in all points as they were.

But I warrant you, there was many a jolly damsel at that time in Bethlehem, yet amongst them all there was no one found that would humble herself so much, as once to go see poor Mary in the stable, and to comfort her. No, no; they were too fine to take so much pains. I warrant you they had their bracelets, and vardingals, and were trimmed with all manner of fine and costly raiment, like as there be many nowadays amongst us, which study nothing else but how they may devise fine raiment; and in the mean season, they suffer poor Mary to lie in the stable; that is to say, the poor people of God they suffer to perish for lack of necessaries.

But what was her swaddling clothes wherein she laid the king of heaven and earth? no doubt it was poor gear, peradventure it was her kercher which she took from her head, or such like gear, for I think Mary had not much fine linen, she was not trimmed up as our women be nowadays. I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal*, for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do nowadays: for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these round-about, they were not invented then, the devil was not so cunning to make such gear, he found it out afterward. Therefore Mary had it not. I will say this, and yet not judge other folks' hearts, but only speak after daily appearance and experience, no doubt it is nothing but a token of pride to wear such vardingals, and therefore I think that every godly woman should set them aside. It was not for nought that St. Paul advertised all women to give a good ensample of sadness, soberness, and godliness, in setting aside all wantonness and pride. And he speaketh of such manner of pride as was used in his time: *Non tortis crinibus*, not with laying out the hair artificially: *Non plicatura capillorum*, not with laying out the tus-

* These were hoops round the lower garments of the ladies, which were sometimes of an enormous magnitude.

socks. (1 Tim. ii.) I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things which women used at that time to shew their wantonness and foolishness. Therefore, as I said before, seeing that God abhorreth all pride, and vardingals are nothing else but an instrument of pride, I would wish that every woman would follow the counsel of St. Paul, and set aside such gorgeous apparel, and rather study to please God, than to set their mind upon pride: or else, when they will not follow the counsel of St. Paul, let them scrape out those words wherewith he forbiddeth them their proudness, otherwise the words of St. Paul will condemn them at the last day. I say no more, wise folks will do wisely, the words of St. Paul are not written for nothing; if they will do after his mind, they must set aside their foolish vardingals: but if they will go forward in their foolishness and pride, the reward which they shall have at the end, shall not be taken from them.

Here is a question to be moved, who fetched water to wash the child after it was born into the world, and who made a fire? It is like that Joseph himself did such things, for as I told you before, those fine damsels thought great scorn to do any such thing unto Mary; notwithstanding that she had brought into the world, the Lord over heaven and earth.

Alack, shall we murmur and grudge against God when we be in distress or poverty? Shall we cry out against him, seeing that Christ the Saviour of the world himself was handled so extremely? Therefore let us learn to be patient in all our troubles, let us be content with all that God shall send us: if we do so, he will plenteously reward us in everlasting life.

This day on which our Saviour was come into the world, we were made one flesh with the Son of God. O what a great honour is this unto us! which honour exceedeth the dignity of the angels. For though the angels are better in substance, yet we are better in the benefit: for Christ took not upon him the nature of angels, but he took our nature upon him, man's nature, I say. Oh what an exceeding thing is this! Oh how much are we bound to give him thanks for these his profound and inestimable benefits! We read a story, take it as you will, though it be not a true story: The devil came once into

the church whilst the priest was saying mass, and when he was at these words, *Et homo factus est*, the devil looked about him, and seeing no man kneel down or bow his knees, he strake one of them in the face, saying, “ What ? will you not reverence him for this great benefit which he hath done unto you ? I tell you, if he had taken upon him our nature, as he hath taken upon him yours, we would more reverence him than ye do.” This story is prettily devised, for we should reverence him, we should honour him, and shew ourselves thankful for those inestimable benefits that he hath shewed unto us miserable wretched sinners in taking upon him our nature.

Now the same Christ was born as on this day of the Virgin Mary, very man except sin : for sin hath not defiled his flesh : for he was not begotten of the seed of man, after the manner of other men, but by the power of the Holy Ghost. Mary was his very natural mother, and he was born to that end that he might deliver us from our sins and wickedness. To whom, with God the Father and the Holy Ghost, be praise and honour everlasting, world without end. *Amen.*

A SERMON

PREACHED ON

SAINT JOHN EVANGELIST'S DAY, 1552,

AT GRIMSTHORPE,

BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

LUKE ii. 8—12.

And there were in the same region shepherds abiding in the field, and watching their flock by night. And lo, the angel of the Lord stood hard by them, and the brightness of the Lord shone round about them, and they were sore afraid. But the angel said unto them, Be not afraid, for behold I bring you tidings of great joy that shall come unto all the people; for unto you is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord: and take this for a sign, you shall find the child swaddled and laid in a manger, &c.

YESTERDAY I entreated somewhat of the nativity of Christ our Saviour. And you have heard by what occasion Mary his mother came to Bethlehem with her husband Joseph, namely, to shew obedience, as all subjects ought to do, to their governors. You hear what good chance she had in that she was obedient, and so all that be obedient to their rulers and governors according to the ordinance of God they shall have good speed. Now what happened unto Mary? she brought forth the Saviour of the world. O what good chance was this! And here we learn that it is a good thing for every one to keep him in that order as God hath appointed him. Mary with her husband Joseph were subjects, and therefore in doing their duties, in obeying the magistrate, they pleased God: which ensample of Mary and Joseph should occasion all us to follow them in their doing; and if we do so, we shall please God. There is one thing I did forget the last time when I spake of obedience, which is an objection that some do make, when they are required to do their duties to the magistrates. I told you at that time, that we must bear willingly those burthens

which are laid upon us, considering that God commanded us so to do. And then again, that he hath delivered us from that great burthen of our sins, which should have thrust us into everlasting damnation, willing and commanding us to bear with a good will such little burthens as the magistrates shall lay upon us.

Again, I told you at the same time that whosoever beareth with a good will the common burthen of this realm, they shall be blessed in all things, it shall not be diminished of their stocks, but it shall be rather an increase than a diminishing.

Now cometh the objection that some make : they say, to bear the common burthen is not an increase but a diminishing and hurt, for there hath been many burthens in England, as the burthens of the fall of money ; therefore that is not so as you say : for I know that some have lost so much, that they cannot recover the same again so long as they live. And indeed I know myself a man that lost eight score pounds by the fall of money, yet as for that man he took it well, and I doubt not but God will work with him so that it shall be nothing to his hurt.

But to answer this carnal man which maketh such a carnal objection against the promise of God ; I deny not but there be some, which indeed shall never recover that which they have lost : but I tell you what is the cause ; the cause is not in God, or in his promise's fidelity, but the fault is in themselves ; as thus, You must understand that when God requireth a thing to be done, he will have it done with a good-will, with a merry heart, with a loving countenance, Now there be many of us which do it indeed, but with cursing and banning, so that though they be no rebels outwardly, yet they rebel in their hearts. Unto such fellows God is not bound to keep his promise, for he made them no promise, but unto them that do it with a willing heart, and loving countenance, he hath promised increase : and they that do it with an ill will they rather provoke God to anger, than that they should receive any benefit of him. For St. Paul commandeth us to obey the magistrates : *Non propter iram, sed propter conscientiam,* “ Not for fear of their punishment, but rather for conscience sake, for God's sake, in respect of God, of whom we have all things, who willeth us to do so.” (Rom. xiii.) So that they that do it with an ill will,

and afterward having no increase, are not able to recover again, the fault is in themselves, and not in God: for they obey not for conscience sake, as St. Paul would have them do, but rather for fear of punishment.

I shewed you also yesterday, the commodities which we receive by the coming of Christ, and again the discommodities if he should not have come; namely, that we should have been lost for ever, world without end. To this end I speake of such things, to give you occasion to consider his goodness and wonderful benefits, and to shew ourselves thankful towards him. Further, I shewed you what he was before he took our vile nature upon him; namely, the eternal Son of God the Father, begotten before the world began, equal to his Father in power and dignity, he took our vile nature upon him, was made very man, to the end that he might deliver man from the curse of God, and eternal damnation.

Then I shewed you what we be without God, without this Saviour, namely, cursed and banished from everlasting life to everlasting damnation: this we are without him of our own nature, for we can do nothing but commit sin, and are not able to make amends for the least sin that we commit; but he our Saviour, I say, hath made satisfaction upon the cross for the sins of all mankind. Then again I told you how we should follow the ensample of David, which when he considered the great benefits of God, burst out in these words, saying, *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ tribuit mihi?* “What shall I give unto the Lord for all that which he hath given unto me? Then he concludeth and saith, *Accipiam calicem salutaris,* “I will take the chalice of health;” that is, I will bear all the crosses which the Lord shall lay upon me. (Ps. cxvi.) And so we must do when we consider the great benefits which God hath done unto us, then we must be content with all our hearts to bear such crosses as he shall lay upon us, and to shew ourselves thankful with a godly and honest life, for that he suffered for us; which passion he suffered, not compelled thereunto, but willingly he suffered it, moved by that great love which he bare towards us.

Therefore let us shew ourselves thankful, let us take all calamities and miseries that he shall lay upon us willingly: and in all these crosses let us call upon him, and take in good

worth whatsoever it shall please him to lay upon us. This is the chiefest honour that we can do unto him.

Now let us a little better consider his poverty which he suffered as soon as he was born. We read not that Mary his mother had any midwife when she was delivered of him. And here we have occasion to speak of midwives. The same office of a midwife is a necessary office, but I would wish the bishops would see better unto them, that they might be better instructed in God's word : for no doubt these midwives are the occasion of much superstition and dishonouring of God ; the fault is, because they are not instructed in the word of God : and therefore when the women be in travailing, and so in peril of their lives, they cause them to call upon our Lady ; which no doubt is very idolatry, and dishonouring of God : for we ought not to call upon any creature, we must call only upon God alone, unto him only pertaineth that honour.

Further I told you that our Saviour Christ was formed and framed of the most poorest flesh, and he became the natural Son of Mary, and she also was his natural mother. I told you the last time of one Joan of Kent *, which was in this foolish opinion, that she should say our Saviour was not very man, and had not received flesh of his mother Mary ; and yet she could shew no reason why she should believe so. Her opinion was this as I told you before. The Son of God, said she, penetrated through her, as through a glass, taking no substance of her : But our creed teacheth us contrariwise, for we say, *Natus ex Maria Virgine*, " Born of the Virgin Mary :" so this foolish woman denied the common creed, and said that our Saviour had a phantastical body ; which is most untrue, as it appeareth evidently in the epistle to the Hebrews, where St. Paul plainly saith, that Christ was made of the woman, that he took his flesh from the woman. And though Mary had a prerogative, as she said indeed, namely, that she knew no man, that

* Joan Botcher, commonly called Joan of Kent, was burnt as an incorrigible heretic, in Smithfield, May 2, 1550. Her error was that of denying the humanity of Christ, and not Arianism, as some writers have asserted. This execution cast a deep shade over the character of Cranmer, and it is very remarkable that the young king, when pressed by the archbishop to sign the death warrant, remonstrated against the measure with tears in his eyes : and when overpowered, he told the primate that he should charge him to answer for what he was doing to God Almighty.—COLLIER'S *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 292.

she was a virgin ; yet her prerogative took not away the humanity of Christ. She alone above all other women had this prerogative to be a virgin, and yet to bring forth a child : the Holy Ghost did supply the office of a father, she was filled with the Holy Ghost, but he was her natural son in all other points ; but yet this his humanity was preserved from all sin and wickedness. In all other things he was very man, and she his very natural mother. And no doubt she had a great belly, as it appeared in the first chapter of Matthew, where the evangelist saith *Inuenta est gravida*, “ She was found with child ;” and so Joseph seeing it, could not but suspect her, and therefore was minded to go away from her, if he had not been admonished by the angel : but being in this perplexity, the angel came unto him saying, *Ne timeas*, “ Fear not, Joseph, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. She shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus.” So here appeared plainly that Mary was big with child after the manner of other women, for we may not make him a phantastical body, but a very body, having flesh, blood, and bones, as our bodies have, and I think that Mary travailed after the manner of other women. I doubt not but she had pains as other women have, for I think she was obedient unto that law, which was made by God himself : *In dolore paries filios tuos*, “ In sorrow and pain thou shalt bring forth thy children.” (Gen. iii.) For she kept other laws too, to which she was not bound, to which she had no need, as of Purification and he of Circumcision : so that it is to be pre-supposed, seeing she obeyed other laws, she obeyed this law too, to shew and to signify unto the whole world her obedience. Therefore they that will go about and say that she brought him forth without pain, not after the manner of other women, they seem to do more hurt than good : for so we might come in doubt, whether he had a very body or not.

Now the evangelist saith there was no place in the inn, they had no room to refresh themselves : for the innkeepers took only those which were able to pay for their good cheer, they would not meddle with such beggarly folk as Joseph and Mary his wife were. And here we may learn by the ensample of Joseph and Mary to take all things in good part, and to be content with poverty and miseries. Let us follow their en-

sample : we read not that they grudged or murmured against God, but they were content to take all things in good part, though they could get never a lodging in the whole city : so that they were fain to take a stable there, to repose themselves ; and as some writers say, it was a common stable in the market-place, as some towns have common stables for the folk that come to the market ; for they are not able to spend money in the inn, and therefore they set their cattle there. But this is no certainty whether it was such a common stable or not ; but this is certain that they were in great poverty and misery, no doubt of that : therefore, you poor folk, comfort yourselves with this ensample, though you have no houses after your mind ; consider that Mary the mother of Christ lacked a lodging, and that in her greatest need. But I tell you where you may have houses enough, and that good cheap, for little money you may have them. *In domo Patris mei sunt multa habitationes*, “ In the house of my Father be many dwelling places.” (John xiv.) There you may have them, they are offered you in Christ, and through Christ, ye need not to give money for them. Therefore I would not have you in any wise to grudge or murmur because ye lack houses, for no doubt if we will be content with that, that God sendeth unto us, and be thankful unto him, houses or no houses in this world, we shall be sure that we shall lack no houses in the other world.

Now you hear how Mary the mother of Christ, brought forth her son into this world in a stable : but here I would not have you to think that Mary was saved because she brought forth Christ, no not so: she was saved because she believed in him, because she set her hope and confidence in him : she doubted not but that he should take away her sins, and all the world's sins ; so that she was not only his mother, after the flesh, but she was his spiritual mother, she believed in him, she seeketh neither salvation by her own works.

There was once a woman when she heard our Saviour make a sermon, she thought him to be a wonderful man, she could no longer hold her tongue, but burst out into these words, *Beatus venter qui te portavit*, “ Blessed is the womb that hath borne thee, and happy are the teats that gave thee suck.” (Luke xi.) That is to say, Happy is that woman that hath such a son. But what answer made our Saviour unto her ? *Quin*

imò nati qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt illud,
“But blessed are those that hear the word of God and keep the same.” For Mary was not justified nor saved because she was his natural mother: for if she had not believed in him, she should never have obtained the felicity of heaven; though she was a singular woman, yet if she had only staid at that, all had been to no purpose. But she was otherwise his mother with believing him to be the eternal Son of God, and the Saviour of the world, according to the promise made of God the Father himself in Paradise, namely, that “the seed of the woman should break the serpent’s head:” and in such wise all we may be the mother, sister, and brethren of Christ.

Furthermore, we read in the gospel of St. Matthew, that once she was pricked with vain-glory, for when he was preaching, she came and would needs speak with him, for she would have been known to be his mother; which doing of hers no doubt had a smell of ambition. And it is good for us to know such things, for so we may comfort ourselves, when we hear that the very mother of Christ had sins, and yet was saved, we shall be saved too. God is as merciful as ever he was, so we shall comfort and keep ourselves from despair. But I pray you, what answer made he unto her, when she interrupted his sermon: “Who is my mother? And who are my brethren? And he stretched forth his hands over his disciples, and said, Behold my mother, and my brethren: for whosoever doth my Father’s will that is in heaven, the same is my brother, sister, and mother.” Here you see, that he would not be led by the affections of his mother, and set aside his calling. This ensample all we ought to follow, and specially preachers; they may not preach after affection, they shall not rule the word of God, but they must be ruled by the same.

Likewise we read in the gospel of John, that when he was at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, and his mother too, and there was wine lacking, she should take upon her to appoint him what he should do, saying *Vinum non habent*, “They have no wine, thou must needs help.” (John ii.) But what answer made he unto her, *Mulier, quid mihi est tuum*, “What have I to do with thee:” shall I be at your commandment? Here you see that Christ would not bear with his mother in

her folly : which ensample we ought to follow : we shall not bear or comfort any man in his sins and wickedness, but admonish him ; nor flatter him against our conscience, as some do, which will not displease, but rather allow things against their own conscience. But our Saviour did not so ; he would not bear with his own mother : therefore, as I told you before, she was not only his carnal mother, but by faith she believed in him ; and so ought we to do, if we will be saved ; for when we believe in him, undoubtedly then we conceive Christ, then we be his mother, then we shall reign with him world without end.

Now followeth in the text, “ And there were shepherds in the same region,” &c. You know there is a common saying, *Ignoti nulla cupido*, “ When a body knoweth not a thing, he desireth it not greatly ; ” so it had been with us if this birth of our Saviour should have been hid from us, we should not have desired the same, and he had done unto us no good at all. Therefore it must needs be known, it must needs be opened. Now here the Evangelist beginneth to shew to whom this birth was opened at the first, and through whom it was first published, who were the first preachers, which were the angels of God, they were the first preachers. And here you may perceive what is the office of the angels of God, namely, to serve to keep us ; and therefore St. Paul calleth them, *Administratonis spiritus*, “ Serving spirits.” But now you will say, how chanced it that the angels teach not us as well as they did the shepherds ? Sirs, you must understand, that God hath appointed another office, other officers, which shall teach us the way to heaven, which way to heaven was opened first by the angel. He told the shepherds that Christ the Saviour was born : but now God sheweth unto us the self-same sermon of the angel by and through his ministers, which teach us the same.

But I pray you to whom was the nativity of Christ first opened, to the bishops or great lords which were at that time at Bethlehem ? Or to those jolly damsels with their vardingals, with their roundabouts, or with their bracelets ? No, no ; they had so many hinderances to trim and dress themselves, that they could have no time to hear of the nativity of Christ : their minds were so occupied otherwise, that they were not allowed

to hear of them. But his nativity was revealed first to the shepherds, and it was revealed unto them in the night-time, when every-body was at rest, then they heard the joyful tidings of the Saviour of the world : for these shepherds were keeping their sheep in the night-season from the wolf or other beasts, and from the fox : for the sheep in that country do lamb two times in the year, and therefore it was needful for the sheep to have a shepherd to keep them. And here note the diligence of these shepherds : for whether the sheep were their own, or whether they were servants, I cannot tell, for it is not expressed in the book ; but it is most like they were servants, and their masters had put them in trust to keep their sheep. Now if these shepherds had been deceitful fellows, that when their masters had put them in trust to keep their sheep, they had been drinking in the alehouse all night, as some of our servants do nowadays, surely the angels had not appeared unto them to have told them this great joy and good tidings. And here all servants may learn by these shepherds to serve truly and diligently unto their masters ; in what business soever they are set to do, let them be painful and diligent, like as Jacob was unto his master Laban. O what a painful, faithful and trusty man was he ! He was day and night at his work, keeping his sheep truly, as he was put in trust to do ; and when any chance happened that any thing was lost, he made it good, and restored it again of his own. So likewise was Eleazar, a painful man, a faithful and trusty servant. Such a servant was Joseph in Egypt to his master Potiphar : so likewise was Daniel unto his master the king. But I pray you where are these servants nowadays ? Indeed I fear me there be but very few of such faithful servants.

Now these shepherds I say, they watch the whole night, they attend upon their vocation, they do according to their calling, they keep their sheep, they run not hither and thither, spending the time in vain, and neglecting their office and calling. No, they did not so. Here by these shepherds all men may learn to attend upon their offices and callings: I would wish that all clergymen, the curates, parsons, and vicars, the bishops, and all other spiritual persons, would learn this lesson by these poor shepherds ; which is this, to abide by their flocks, and by their sheep to tarry amongst them, to be

careful over them, not to run hither and thither after their own pleasure, but tarry by their benefices and feed their sheep with the food of God's word, and to keep hospitality, and so to feed them both soul and body. For I tell you these poor unlearned shepherds shall condemn many a stout and great learned clerk: for these shepherds had but the care and charge over brute beasts, and yet were diligent to keep them, and to feed them, and the other have the cure over God's lambs which he bought with the death of his Son, and yet they are so careless, so negligent, so slothful over them; yea, and the most part intendeth not to feed the sheep, but they long to be fed of the sheep: they seek only their own pastimes, they care for no more. But what said Christ to Peter? What said he? *Peter, amas me?* "Peter, lovest thou me?" Peter made answer, Yes: "Then feed my sheep." And so the third time he commanded Peter to feed his sheep. But our clergymen do declare plainly that they love not Christ, because they feed not his flock. If they had earnest love to Christ, no doubt they would shew their love, they would feed his sheep.

But it is a thing to be lamented, that the prelates and other spiritual persons will not attend upon their offices; they will not be amongst their flocks, but rather will run hither and thither, here and there, where they are not called, and in the mean season, leave them at adventure of whom they take their living; yea, and furthermore, some will rather be clerks of kitchens, or take other offices upon them besides that which they have already: but with what conscience these same do so, I cannot tell. I fear they shall not be able to make answer at the last day for their follies, as concerning that matter: for this office is such a heavy and weighty office that it requireth a whole man. Yea and let every curate or parson keep his cure to which God hath appointed him, and let him do the best that he can; yet I tell you he cannot choose but the devil will have some, for he sleepeth not: he goeth about day and night to seek whom he may devour. Therefore it is need for every godly minister to abide by his sheep, seeing that the wolf is so near, and to keep them, and withstand the wolf. Indeed there be some ministers here in England which do no good at all, and therefore it were better for them to leave their benefices, and give room unto others.

Again, I will not be so precise, but I say a man may be away from his benefice for a little while, having urgent and lawful causes, yet I would not allow him to tarry long: for a curate or whosoever he be, having a cure committed unto him of God to feed, cannot be from them with a safe conscience, he may not run hither and thither after his own pleasure, but must wait upon his office: for no doubt but the devil will be wonderful busy when the preacher or curate is from his cure.

Moses, that worthy man and faithful minister of God, was away from his people which was to him committed but two days; but what came of it? Marry, they committed idolatry in his absence: this came of it. Which no doubt they would not have done, if he had been present: yet he was not faulty, for he was called by God himself. I would wish all curates and parsons would tarry at their cures, till they be called from it as Moses was called: for certain it is, that as many as perish in his absence, he must make answer for them before God. *Si non locutus fueris,* “ If thou dost not reprove them, if thou dost not teach them, they shall die, but their blood will I require at thy hand, saith God.” (Ezek. xxxiii.) Again, if thy parish be stout and hard-necked, and will not hear the word of God, nor pass for it, yet the curate doing that which pertaineth unto him to do, he is discharged before God, and their blood shall be upon their own heads. But it is required of a curate to be with them, to exhort and admonish them; Therefore St. Peter saith, *Pascite quantum in vobis est gregem Christi,* “ Feed as much as in you lieth the flock of Christ;” (1 Ep. v.) Then they may not be from their flock, for they cannot feed them being absent: And therefore those ministers that neglect, or set aside their own cures, and run here and there before they be called, are no doubt in great danger, and they do against the ordinance of God. Therefore let them not be ashamed to learn of these shepherds here to abide by their flocks, till such time as God shall call them, like as he called these shepherds. I will not say, but they may be from it, but no longer than these shepherds; that is to say, no longer than they have lawful business. And here God doth consecrate every man’s vocation, that he that feareth God, loveth his word, and liveth according unto the

same, he shall be acceptable unto God, though he be a poor shepherd, or cobbler, that is not the matter.

The Evangelist saith, " And there were in the same region, shepherds abiding in the field." Oh, what fidelity was in these men ! they would not deceive their masters, or put their sheep in jeopardy, but they were content to watch all the whole night. And lo, the angel of the Lord stood hard by them. The angel of God was a preacher at that time, the people and audience were the shepherds : but they were greatly astonished, they knew not what God intended to do. But the angel said unto them, *Nolite timere*, " Fear not." As who should say, ye have no cause to be afraid, when you know how the matter goeth, for I come to bring you word that the light is come into the world : for Christ is the light, the life, the resurrection, the way to heaven ; when we believe in him the gates of hell shall not prevail against us.

The sermon of the angel was this, *Ecce*, " Lo." When this word, *Ecce*, " Lo," is set in scripture, then ever followeth a great and weighty matter after it. And therefore he required audience and silence. He would have them to bear it away and note it well, what he would say unto them : *An-nuncio vobis gaudium magnum*, " I bring you tidings of great joy that shall come to all people." I bring you good news, which pertaineth unto all the world, if they will receive it : but they that will not, if they refuse the offer of God, then they themselves are the cause of their own damnation. The let is not in God, but in themselves.

Quia vobis natus est hodie, " Unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour." This was a good angel, and he was already in the state of salvation. Therefore he saith, Unto you is born a Saviour. He saith not unto us ; for the good angels of God are in the state of salvation already. Therefore Christ suffered not for them, nor saved them, but us. As for the other angels, the angels of darkness, the devil I say, they are without hope of salvation : and therefore Christ suffered not for them, but only for mankind, which was lost by the craft of the old serpent the devil.

The fall of the devil was this. When Lucifer which was at the same season the greatest angel in heaven, when he perceived that the Son of God would become man, he fell into

such an enviousness against man, and in such a hatred and proudness against God, because the Son of God would not take his nature upon him, he fell therefore into such a pride that he would set his seat above God, or like God, saying, *Similis ero Altissimo*, “ I will be like unto the Highest.” (Isa. xiv.) But what was his end ? He was cast down from heaven, he and all his fellows with all their whole company. And here they be amongst us, to let us of our salvation, and to occasion us to sin, and to do wickedly before the face of the Lord. And no doubt this is a great matter, if we had grace to consider it, and to beware of his instincions, for he knoweth that it is the will of God that we should be saved, and this grieveth him : but the good angels they rejoice when we do well, when we receive the word of God and follow it ; but the devil waxeth sorry, he cannot abide that, in no wise ; for he knoweth that if we should receive God’s word, it should be to the destruction and hinderance of his kingdom.

After that when Christ was born into the world, he did what he could to rid him out of the way ; therefore he stirred up all the Jews against him, but after that he perceived that his death should be our deliverance from everlasting death, he did what he could to hinder his death, and therefore he stirred up Mistress Pilate, which took a nap in the morning, as such fine dames are wont to do, that she should not suffer her husband to give sentence against Christ. For as I told you, when he perceived that it was to his destruction, he would let it, and did what he could with hand and foot to stop it. But yet he was not able to disannul the counsel and purpose of God.

Further, it is not enough to believe Christ to be a Saviour, but you must know what manner of Saviour he is : how far forth he saveth : and therefore you must understand that he was not such a Saviour as Moses was, which saved the people of Israel from hunger and thirst in the wilderness, but could not deliver them from everlasting death. Christ therefore our Saviour, is such a Saviour which saved us from eternal damnation, from the power of the devil, and all our enemies. The angel of God himself, sheweth us what manner of Saviour Christ is, in the first of Matthew, saying, *Quia salvum faciet populum suum à peccatis suis*, “ For he shall save his peo-

ple from their sins." So we must believe him to be such a Saviour which released us from our sins, as well our original as actual wickedness. But the papists make him but half a Saviour: for they think that they with their good works must help him to save them half: so they blaspheme him, and take away his dignity, for he only hath merited with his painful passion, to be a Saviour of the whole world, that is, to deliver all them that believe in him, from their sins and wickedness.

This we must believe undoubtedly, that he was born into this world to save mankind from their sins. Again, we must not only believe that he is a Saviour of mankind, but also that he is my Saviour and thy Saviour. I must have such a trust and hope in him, that he will save me from all my sin and wickedness; so every man must have a special faith. We must apply his passion unto us, every one to himself: For when it is not applied unto us with a special faith, it is to no purpose: for what commodity have I, when I believe Christ saved St. Peter, and St. Paul, and other good men, and go no further? Therefore I must have a special faith; I must believe that he saved them, and also will save me, and forgive me my sins.

The Jews, that same obstinate people, think that the Messias, the Saviour, for whom they long, shall be a great ruler in this world, shall have the swing in this world, no man shall be able to withstand him: so they believe that their Saviour shall be a great king in this world; which is contrary to the most holy infallible word of God. Again, the papists, as I told you before, make him but a half Saviour; for they think and believe that Christ is a Saviour: but how? Marry thus: they say that all they that have lived well in this world, have deserved heaven with their good works, with almsgiving, and other such works merited everlasting life. And therefore when they die, they shall be received of Christ, and he shall give them everlasting life, which they in their life-time have deserved with their own deeds: so that our Saviour shall be after their sayings only a judge. He shall judge which be those which have deserved heaven, and them he shall receive into everlasting life; and so he shall give unto every

one according to his merits. Such a Saviour the papists make him.

But I pray you, if it should be so as they say, which of us should be saved? Whose works are so perfect that they should be able to deserve heaven? for, I tell you, heaven and everlasting life is a more precious thing than can be deserved with our doings, with our outward works. And therefore the papists deprave Christ and spoil him of his honour and dignity: for he is another manner of Saviour than they fantasy him to be, for he reputeth all them for just, holy, and acceptable before God, which believe in him, which put their trust, hope, and confidence in him: for by his passion, which he hath suffered, he merited that as many as believe in him, shall be as well justified by him, as though they themselves had never done any sin, and as though they themselves had fulfilled the law to the uttermost: for we without him are under the curse of the law, the law condemneth us, the law is not able to help us, and yet the imperfection is not in the law, but in us: for the law itself is holy and good, but we are not able to keep it, and so the law condemneth us, but Christ with his death hath delivered us from the curse of the law. He hath set us at liberty and promiseth that when we believe in him, we shall not perish, the law shall not condemn us.

Therefore let us study to believe in Christ. Let us put all our hope, trust, and confidence only in him, let us patch him with nothing: for as I told you before, our merits are not able to deserve everlasting life: it is too precious a thing to be merited by man. It is his doing only, God hath given him unto us to be a deliverer, and to give us everlasting life. O what a joyful thing was this! What a comfortable thing is it! That we know now that neither the devil, hell, or any thing in heaven or earth, shall be able to condemn us when we believe in Christ!

Now to our matter: the angel after he had told them these good tidings how the king of all kings was born, gave them a sign or token whereby they should know him, and saith, *Reperietis infantem jacentem in præsepe*, "Ye shall find the babe lying in a manger." This was a goodly sign. Indeed if we consider the matter well, it was enough to make them

astonished and to cast down their belieef, to tell them first of a great Saviour; and then to say, that they should find him in a stable, lying in a manger. But the wisdom of God is not according to the wisdom of this world. He went not about to please the foolish of this world, but his counsel was to deliver the world by his Son, which should not come in riches and great pomp, but in poverty and rags. His kingdom in this world should be a weak kingdom. And so his disciples afterward were taken out of the lowest sort of men.

They were poor fishers and the most vilest men in this world, as St. Paul saith, *Excrementa mundi*: “Outcasts of the world.” And so shall all his disciples be, all they that will be saved by him, and specially the preachers of his holy word shall be *excrementa*, they shall be outcasts. When they will go about to reprove sin, as a preacher should do, as their office requireth, *Arguere mundum de peccato*, “To rebuke the world of sin.” (John xvi.) I warrant you that man shall have little favour in this world. So, I say, God hath no respect of persons though they be vile before this world and counted for nothing, yet he is content to work his will with them and through them, as here in these shepherds appeared: though they were poor, yet the angel opened unto them such things which were hidden from these glorious prelates and stubborn bishops, which in all time do but little good, for they disdain to preach *Jesum crucifixum*.

Now like as he was born in rags, so the converting of the whole world is by rags, by things which are most vile in this world: for to go to the matter, what is so common as water? every foul ditch is full of it, yet we wash our remission of our sins by baptism: for like as he was found in rags, so we must find him by baptism. There we begin; we are washed with water, and then the words are added, for we are baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, whereby the baptism receiveth his strength. Now this sacrament of baptism is a thing of great weight, for it ascertaineth and assureth us, that like as the water washeth the body and cleanseth it, so the blood of Christ our Saviour cleanseth and washeth it from all filth and uncleanness of sins. So likewise go to the Lord's supper; when the bread is consecrated, when

the words are spoken over it, then it is such an office that it beareth the name of the body and blood of Christ? Like as the magistrates because of their office are called *Dii*, “ Gods;” so the bread presenteth his body, so that we go unto it worthily, and receive it with a good faith. Then we be assured that we feed upon him spiritually. And like as the bread nourisheth the body, so the soul feedeth upon the very body and blood of Christ by faith, by believing him to be a Saviour which delivered man from his sin.

And so it appeareth that we may not seek Christ in the glistening of this world; for what is so common as water? what is so common as bread and wine? yet he promised to be found there when he is sought with a faithful heart. So will you have Christ? Where shall you find him? Not in the jollities of this world, but in rags, in the poor people. Have you any poor people amongst you in your town or city? Seek him there amongst the rags, there shall you find him. And I will prove it on this wise. He saith himself with his own mouth, “ Whosoever ye do to these little ones, *minimis*, that do ye unto me.” By these words appeareth manifestly, that whatsoever ye do unto the poor people which are despised in this world, ye do it to himself. Therefore I say yet again, when ye will seek Christ, seek him in the rags, seek him in the manger amongst the poor folk, where you shall find him. But you must understand that when I speak of poverty, I speak not of this wilful poverty of the monks and friars, for that was an hypocritical poverty, that poverty was full of all manner of delicate things, *Nihil habeant, et tamen omnia habeant*, “ They had nothing, and yet they had all.” They were wise enough, they could make shift for themselves I warrant you, therefore I speak not of that poverty: for it was a wicked, abominable, and hypocritical poverty. But I speak of the very poor and needy flock of Christ, which have not wherewith to live in this world. Those I would have you to refresh, to cherish, and to help them with your superfluity. Amongst that poor company seek Christ, and no doubt you shall find him.

Now to make an end: consider what I have said, how Christ was born, in what poverty, and in what misery. Re-

member what manner of Saviour he is; namely, a perfect Saviour, which saveth and healeth all our sorrows when we believe in him. I told you where you should seek him, namely, amongst the poor, where he will be found.

The Almighty God give us grace to live and believe so, that we may attain to that felicity, which he hath promised by his Son our Saviour. To whom, with God the Father and the Holy Ghost, be honour world without end. *Amen.*

THE SERMON
OF
MASTER DOCTOR LATIMER,
PREACHED ON
TWELFTH DAY, 1553, AT GRIMSTHORPE,

MATTHEW ii. 1, 2.

When Jesus was born in Bethlehem in Jewry, in the time of Herod the king :
Behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he
that is born king of the Jews ? We have seen his star in the east, and are
come to worship him.

RIGHT worshipful, you heard the gospel read before you, which gospel is the beginning of the second chapter of Matthew, and it comprehendeth good matters. It speaketh of the Epiphany of Christ, how our Saviour was opened by the providence of God to the Gentiles. Notwithstanding, I intend not to tarry long in that gospel, or to entreat of it : for if ye remember I promised you the last Sunday three things ; first, I promised you, that I would speak generally of circumcision, what it is, and what it signifieth : secondly, I promised you to speak of the circumcision of our Saviour Christ, and how it chanced that he would be circumcised : thirdly, I promised you to speak of his manhood. Now you know, at the same time I did not perform my promise, because I had no time ; therefore I intend now, by the help of God, to perform that which I then promised. But yet, because the gospel containeth so good matter, I cannot go over it, but shew you certain specialties which are contained in the same.

The evangelist Matthew in this gospel, goeth about to prove, that Jesus was the Messias which was spoken of so much before-times by the prophets ; and this he doth, by the place where he was born, namely, at Bethlehem, and also by the time, namely, when Herod was king over the Jews. But

here be no Jews, therefore it needeth not to entreat of this matter.

Furthermore, here we shall note the simplicity, and heartiness of these men, which came a great way out of their countries, where the prophet Daniel had been before times ; for no doubt but they had learned of Daniel, that there should a Messias come. Therefore now when they perceived by the star that he was born, they are ready to forsake their countries, and come into Jewry, being a great way, to make inquisition for him : and there go very simply to work, casting no peril. They ask openly at Jerusalem for him, saying, *Ubi est Rex ?* “ Where is he that is born king of the Jews ? ” Here you must understand, that after Pompey the Great had subdued the Jews, in process of time, Herod had gotten the rule over them, by the means and appointment of the emperor. Which Herod was not a Jew, but an Idumean : a cruel, wicked, and forecasting man ; for he trusted not constantly upon the Jews. He was ever afraid he should be deprived of his kingdom. Now at that time when this wicked man had the rule, these wise men came into the city, and inquired for the king of the Jews, and openly protested their faith which they had in Christ. They were nothing afraid of Herod, for they had such a trust and confidence in God, that they were sure he would deliver them from his hands.

But worldly wise men will say, they were but fools to put themselves in such danger without need ; they might have asked for him secretly, so that the king might not have heard of it : such is the wisdom of those which have no faith nor confidence in God, they will not abide any peril for God’s sake, they will seek all corners to hide themselves in, rather than they will profess God’s word openly. I pray you note and mark well their words, they say, “ We are come to worship him ; ” to do him homage, to acknowledge him to be our Lord. Then again note the words of Herod, he saith unto them, “ Go and search diligently for the child, and when you have found him, bring me word, that I may come and worship him also.” Lo, here what a fox this Herod was. Who can judge of man’s words, except God which knoweth the hearts of men ?

Note another thing, which is this : as soon as this was

published, that these strangers were come, asking for the king of the Jews, "Herod was troubled, saith the text, and all Jerusalem with him." This was a strange thing, that Jerusalem should be troubled, which longed so long time for a king, for that Messias, for that Saviour. But they were even as we are; they cared not for God's word, they sought nothing but their ease, and to be at rest; they cared not greatly for religion: they thought, if we receive him, we shall have trouble with him, therefore it is better for us to leave him, and to let him alone, rather than to disquiet ourselves: they were even right merchantmen, they sought nothing but to save their substance in this world, this was all they looked for; therefore they were troubled when they heard that Christ was born.

Now what doth Herod? Forsooth he calleth all the bishops and learned men, and inquireth of them the time at the which Christ should be born. They were well seen in the law and the prophets after the letter, and therefore by and by made answer unto him, saying, "At Bethlehem Judah he shall be born;" for so it is written in the fifth chapter of Micah, *Et tu, Bethlehem Juda,* "And thou, Bethlehem Judah, thou art not the least concerning the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come the captain that shall govern my people Israel." After that Herod had heard this, he called the wise men, and bade them that they should "go and search out the child, and when they had found him, they should bring him word again, that he might come and worship him also." O what a fox is this! there hath been many such foxes in England, specially in the time of persecution, which pretended great holiness, and zeal to God-ward with their mouth, but their hearts are poisoned with the cruelty of Herod.

Now as soon as they were out of the city, the star appeared unto them again, and went before them till it came to the place, where it stood still. But yet you must understand that our Saviour was born in a stable, but Joseph had gotten a house in process of time, so that they found him not in the stable. There be some learned men, that think, that the wise men came a year or two after his birth, for they came a great way; and when they had found him, they did homage unto him, and acknowledged him to be the Lord, and declared their faith they had in him, giving him gold, frankincense and

myrrh. And here is to be noted the provision of God, there was no body that we read of, which gave any thing unto him, yet God could stir up the hearts of those strangers to shew their liberality towards him. They bring gold, which signified him to be the right king above all kings ; and like as gold exceedeth all other metals, so gold signified him to be the king above all kings, and that the doctrine of him is the very true doctrine. Frankincense signifieth the prayer of the faithful, which maketh a good savour before God, for he greatly delighteth therein : myrrh, which they offered, signified the afflictions of those which confess Christ.

But here, as I told you before, you must note God's provision, for now Mary and Joseph must be gone to Egypt: see what provision God made for them, he sent them gold and other treasures out of a far country. Again, how wonderfully God preserved those wise men, which were going again to Herod, if they had not been admonished by the angel of God. Therefore learn here, that they that believe in God, and put their hope and trust in him, shall be provided for : God will not forget them. But how these men came to Colen in Germany, I marvel greatly, I think it is but the fantasies and illusions of the devil, which stirred men up to worship stone and wood*.

But I will now leave that place of scripture, and return again to my promise, and to speak somewhat of circumcision, and so make an end.

God Almighty made this promise unto Abraham, saying, *Ego ero Deus tuus, et seminis tui post te?* “ I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee.” (Gen. xvii.) This was the promise of God, which promise was confirmed by that sign and outward token of circumcision. Now the covenant or promise of God abideth, but the circumcision, which was the sign of it, is gone, and taken away by the coming of Christ, and instead thereof is ordained baptism. This you have heard

* According to the fabulous legend, there were three kings, named Jasper, Melchior, and Balthasar, who came to worship the infant Messiah at Bethlehem. The bodies of these eastern princes, says the tale, were brought to Constantinople by Helena, the mother of Constantine; but were afterwards removed to Milan, and in 1164, conveyed to Cologne, where the reliques were long regarded with holy veneration. The ancient Roman offices contain some curious prayers and hymns to these fictitious personages.

the last time, when I told you that circumcision was not only a mark or naked token, whereby men might know a Jew from a Gentile, but it had a further signification, namely, that like as the privy member was circumcised, the foreskin cut off; so the heart of every man must be circumcised, and the foreskin of all wickedness cut off, or pulled away: like as our baptism is not only ordained for that cause, to know a Christian from a Turk or heathen, but it hath a further signification, it signifieth that we must wash away the old Adam, forsake and set aside all carnal lusts and desires, and put on Christ, receive him with a pure heart, and study to live and go forward in all goodness, according unto his will and commandment. So I say, at that time, circumcision was not only an outward bare token, but had an inward signification; namely, that the heart of man should be circumcised from all sin, and cleansed from all wickedness.

Now come to the point: circumcision at that time, was a certain, sure, infallible, and effectual token of God's good will towards them to whom it was given: for as many as did believe the covenant of God, it did ascertain them of the goodwill of God towards them, that they should be delivered out of all their troubles and adversities, that they should be sure of the help of God. An example we have in that good young man Jonathan, he comforted himself with his circumcision, saying to his weapon bearer, *Veni transeamus ad incircumcisos*, "Come, let us go to these uncircumcised." (1 Sam. xiv.) As though he had said, Come let us go, we have circumcision, God hath promised to be our God to aid and help us, and deliver us out of all our troubles and calamities. And so he went on, he and his armour-bearer only, and set upon them, and killed a great number of them that same day. Which victory happened by the occasion of this Jonathan the king's son. So likewise did David, when he should fight against Goliath the Philistine; he saith, *Quis est ille incircumcisus?* "What is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should revile the host of the living God?" So they exhorted themselves, and confirmed their faith with this circumcision. Wherefore let us ever consider, in what trouble and calamity soever we be, that we be baptized: that God hath promised to help us, to deliver us from all our sins and wickedness, to be our God

and comforter. And again ; let us consider our promise which we have made unto him ; namely, that we will forsake sin, the devil, and all his crafts and illusions, and cleave unto God only : and so by the remembrance of this, we shall be more ready and earnest to fight against the devil.

Now let us come to the circumcision of our Saviour Christ. A man might marvel how it came to pass that our Saviour would be circumcised, being as he was indeed, *Ipsissima justitia*, " The righteousness itself." What needed he to be circumcised ? For he was no sinner, nor had need that his faith should be confirmed by circumcision, being very God and the material Son of God. Again, to do a thing that needeth not, it is but lost labour and the time ill-spent. And St. Paul saith, *Si circumcidamini Christus vobis nihil proderit*, " If you be circumcised, Christ doth you no good ; you need not look to be saved by him :" (Col. 2.) To make answer to these questions ; first, I would not have you to think, that Christ being but eight days old, knew not whereabouts his parents went, or what they did when they circumcised him. Yes, yes ; he knew it well enough ; for though he was but a child, yet he was such a child that had no fellow : for as St. Paul witnesseth, *Plenitudo divinitatis habitabat in illo corporaliter* " The abundance of the Godhead dwelt in him corporally." God dwelleth in all them that be faithful, spiritually : for we be the temples of God. But in Christ he dwelleth corporally : that is to say, he with the plenteousness of his Godhead, dwelleth in Christ. You must understand that Christ hath a soul and body, united to his divinity ; therefore it is said that he dwelleth in Christ corporally. Now he being very God, would not have been circumcised against his will, but he did it voluntarily. As for the saying of St. Paul, *Si circumcidamini Christus vobis proderit*, it hath his understanding ; for St. Paul in that place speaketh not of the outward work of circumcision, but against that wicked opinion which the Gentiles had : for they thought that circumcision was a work meriting remission of sins ; which opinion took away the office of Christ. Now St. Paul warneth them of it, and sheweth that this was a wicked opinion to think to be saved by circumcision. The causes wherefore Christ our Saviour would be circumcised are these ; first, because he would be a testimony that the old law was God's

law; and for that time they were the very laws of God, and therefore he suffered himself to be circumcised, notwithstanding that he had no need of it; but this is but a secondary cause. Another cause is, to be obedient unto common orders, therefore he would suffer rather to be circumcised, than to give an occasion of hurly-burly or uproar: for the will of the Father was, that subjects should obey magistrates, and keep orders. *Subjecti estote cuius humanæ potestati,* “ Be obedient unto them.” (Tit. iii.) Look what laws and ordinances are made by the magistrates, we ought to obey them: therefore we must consider ever in all our doings, what be the laws of the realm, and according unto the same we must live. And this is to be understood as well in spiritual matters as temporal matters, so far forth as their laws be not against God and his word. When they will move us to do any thing against God then we may say, *Oportet magis obedire Domino quam hominibus,* “ We must be more obedient unto God than unto man:” (Acts v.) yet we may not withstand them with stoutness, or rise up against them, but suffer whatsoever they shall do unto us: for we may for nothing in the world rebel against the office of God, that is to say, against the magistrate.

Now Christ himself giveth an ensample of this obedience, and no doubt it was a painful thing to be circumcised, as it appeared by a notable act in the first book of Moses. When Jacob that holy man was coming home again out of Mesopotamia with his wives and children, and all his substance, as he came by the way, he pitched his tents about the Sechemites. Now he had a daughter called Dinah, which gazing damsel went about to see the countries, and so came into the town among the strangers. Now the governor’s son of the city, seeing her to be a fair maiden, cast his love upon her, and went and took her and ravished her, and afterward made suit unto Jacob her father that he might have her to his wife. At the length after much ado, they agreed upon that, that he, his father, and all his people should be circumcised, which was done: for upon a day all their males were circumcised. And here was a religion of policy, they were circumcised, not for God’s sake, to acknowledge him to be their God, but only to satisfy the request of a foolish wanton young man, as we read in Chronicles of such religion of policy. Now what happened?

The third day, when their sores were very great, two of Jacob's sons went into the city, and slew all together, men, women, and children, and took their sister away again.

Here by this appeared what pain it was, seeing they were not able to withstand or defend themselves. But our Saviour he was well content to suffer that great pain ; but these causes are not the chiefest ; but there hangeth more of it. St. Paul shewed the chiefest cause in the epistle to the Galatians, saying, *Postquam venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere,* “ After that the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son made of a woman.” (Gal. iv.) That is the principal cause ; “ for when the fulness of time was come,” as God will have all things done in a convenient time, and the same time must be appointed by him, and not by us : “ When the time was fully come, then God sent his Son made of a woman.” Made of a woman, he saith ; which signifieth that Christ took the substance of his body of the woman. In all things he was like unto other children, except that he had no carnal father, and was without sin, else he was very man : for we may not make him so spiritual, that we should deny his humanity. No, not so ; he was very man, and was bound to the law. To what end ? *Ut eos qui legi erant obnoxii, liberaret,* “ That he might deliver us from the law, to the which we were bound : ” and that we might receive the right of the children of God by adoption, through God's goodness by his deserving, that we might have through his fulfilling of the law, remission of sins, and eternal life. These be the gifts, which he hath deserved with his keeping of the law.

Thus you see to what end he was circumcised, and wherefore he kept the law, namely, to deliver us from the condemnation of it ; for if he had not kept the law, the law had such power, that it would have condemned us all : for so it is written, *Maledictus qui non manserit in omnibus,* “ Cursed be he that abideth not by all that which is written in the law.” So that the least cogitation that we have against the law of God, bringeth this curse upon our heads : so that there was never man, nor shall be one, that could remedy himself by this law, for it is spiritual, it may not be fulfilled but by the spirit. It requireth us to be clean from all spot of sin, from all ill thoughts, words, and deeds : but we be carnal, and as St. Paul saith, *Venditi sub*

peccato, “sold under sin and wickedness.” Therefore he concludeth thus: *Ex operibus legis, nemo justificabitur*, “And by the works of the law no man can be justified.” For you must consider the works of the law how they ought to be done, and again how we do them. As Christ did them, they merit, for he did them perfectly, as they ought to be done; but as we do them, they condemn, and yet the lack is not in the law, but in us.

The law of itself is holy and good, but we are not able to keep it, and therefore we must seek our righteousness, not in the law, but in Christ, which hath fulfilled the same, and given us freely his fulfilling.

And this is the chiefest cause wherefore Christ would fulfil the law. But all the papists think themselves to be saved by the law, and I myself have been of that dangerous, perilous, and damnable opinion, till I was thirty years of age, so long I walked in darkness, and in the shadow of death. And no doubt he that departeth out of this world in that opinion, he shall never come to heaven. For when we will consider the works of the law, which the law requireth, and again, how we do them, we shall find that we may not be justified by our doings: for the flesh reigneth in us, it beareth rule and hindereth the Spirit, and so we never fulfil the law. Certain it is that they that believe in Christ have the Holy Ghost which ruleth ~~anti~~ governeth them; yet for all that there be a great many lacks in them, so that if they would go about to be saved by their works, they should come too short, for their works are not able to answer the requests of the law. And so Christ should be but a judge; which should give to every one according to his merits, and should not deserve for us. If we had no other help but that, then we should go all to the devil; but God the everlasting be praised, we have a remedy and a sure helper. Christ the Son of the living God, hath fulfilled the law for us, to deliver us from sin. Such is the office of Christ, to deliver us from the law, and the wrath of it. The law requireth a perfect righteousness, and holiness; now all they that believe in Christ, they are holy and righteous, for he hath fulfilled the law for us which believe in him: we be reputed just through faith in Christ. What requireth the law of us? Marry, righteousness and holiness. This we have, we are righteous, but how?

not by our works, for our works are not able to make us just, and deliver us from our sins, but we are just by this, that our sins are pardoned unto us, through the faith which we have in Christ our Saviour: for he, through his fulfilling of the law, took away the curse of the law from our heads. *Qui de peccato condemnavit peccatum,* “ He took away the power of the sin.” Sin is made no sin.

I desire you in the reverence of God to bear away this one sentence which I will now speak unto you, for it shall be a good stay for you against the temptations of the devil; the sentence is this, *Quod lex præstare non potuerat,* “ That the law could not do” (for it was letted by the flesh) what can the law do when it hath no let? Marry, it can justify, that is to say, *sed infirmabatur per carnem,* “ by the infirmity of our flesh,” man was not able to do it, the lack was in us: for we are wicked and the law is holy and good. Now that which we lacked, that same hath God fulfilled and supplied, *Misso filio suo,* in that he hath sent his Son to supply that which man’s works could not do, and with his fulfilling of the law, and painful death, he merited, that as many as believe in him, though they had done all the sins of the world, yet shall they not be damned but are righteous before the face of God, believing in Christ: so that remission of sins, and everlasting life may be sought no where else but only in Christ. *Qui proprio Filio non peperat, sed dedit illam pro nobis,* “ He that spared not his only Son, but gave him for us, why should he not with him give us all things also?” (Rom. viii.)

By this text it appeareth, that he which hath Christ hath all things: he hath Christ’s fulfilling of the law, he hath remission of his sins, and so consequently everlasting life. Is not this a comfort? What greater consolation, comfort, and hearts-ease can there be in heaven and earth, than this, namely, to be sure of the remission of thy sins, and that Christ bound himself unto the law, to that end that he might fulfil it to the uttermost. This, I say, is the greatest comfort, specially when the devil goeth about to cast our sins in our teeth, as no doubt he forgetteth them not, but hath them (as they say) at his fingers-end; as thus, when he will so go to work with us, saying, “ Sirrah, thou art damned, thou art a sinful wicked fellow, thou hast not kept God’s commandments: God must needs judge thee according unto his law.”

Now then, when I have the grace to have in remembrance the circumcision of Christ, when I remember that Christ hath fulfilled the law for me, that he was circumcised, that he will stand between me and my damnation, when I look not upon my works, to be saved by them, but only by Christ; when I stick unto him, when I believe that my soul is washed and made clean through his blood, then I have all his goodness, for God hath given him unto me; and when I believe in him, I apply all his benefits unto me.

I pray God the Almighty to give every one of us such a heart that we may believe in him, for he is *finis legis*, "the end of the law," *perfectio legis*, "the fulfilling of the same, to the salvation of all that believe on him." What can be more comfortable? Therefore let us believe in him and be thankful.

Now I must needs speak a word or two of good works, lest peradventure some of you be offended with me. I told you before wherein standeth our righteousness, namely in this, that our unrighteousness is forgiven us: for we must needs confess, that the best works that we do, have need of remission of sins, and so not meritorious, for they be not perfect as they ought to be: and therefore we live of borrowing, we have no proper righteousness of our own: but we borrow, that is to say, we take the righteousness of Christ, which he offered freely to as many as believe in him. And this treasure of his righteousness is not wasted or spent; he hath enough for all the world, yea, if there were a thousand worlds. Therefore when we have been wicked, let us be sorry for our wickedness, and come to Christ, and call for forgiveness, and then take a good earnest purpose to leave sin.

There is a common saying amongst us here in England, "Every thing is, say they, as it is taken;" which indeed is not so: for every thing is as it is, howsoever it be taken, but in some manner of things it is true, as in this matter: we of ourselves are unjust, our works are unperfect, and so disagreeable unto God's laws; yet for Christ's sake we be taken for just, and our works are allowable before God; not that they be so indeed for themselves, but they be taken well for his sake. God hath a pleasure in our works, though they be not so perfectly done as they ought to be, yet they please him, and he delighteth in them, and he will reward them in everlasting

life. We have them not by our merits, but by Christ. And yet this sentence is true, *Reddit unicuique juxta opera*, "He will reward every one according to his deserving;" he will reward our good works in everlasting life, but not with everlasting life, for our works are not so much worth, nor ought not to be esteemed so as to get us heaven; for it is written, "The kingdom of heaven is the gift of God." So likewise St. Paul saith, *Gratia enim estis salvati per fidem absque operibus*, "Ye are saved freely without works." (Ephes. ii. 8.) Therefore when ye ask, are ye saved? say, yes. How? Marry, gratis, freely; and here is all our comfort to stay our consciences. You will say now, here is all faith, faith, but we hear nothing of good works; as some carnal people make such carnal reasons like themselves; but I tell you we are bound to walk in good works: for to that end we are come to Christ, to leave sin, to live uprightly, and so to be saved by him: but you must be sure to what end you must work, you must know how to esteem your good works. As if I fast and give alms, and think to be saved by it, I thrust Christ out of his seat: what am I the better when I do so? But I will tell you how ye shall do them. First consider with yourselves how God hath delivered you out of the hands of the devil. Now to shew yourselves thankful, and in consideration that he commandeth you to do good works ye must do them, and thereby we wrestle with sin. When the devil tempteth me, or in any wise moveth me to wickedness, then I must withstand, and reprove it, and when he hath gotten at any time the victory, we must rise again, and be more wary afterward. And when thou feelest thyself feeble and weak, then call upon God, for he hath promised that he will help: there was never man yet, nor never shall be, but he either hath or shall find ease and comfort at God's hand, if he call upon him with a faithful heart. For as St. Paul saith, "God is true, he will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength." *Benedictus est Deus qui non sinet vos temtari, supra quod id quod potestis:* (1 Cor. x.) If therefore we would once enter into a practice to overcome the devil, it were but an easy thing for us to do, if every one in his calling would direct his ways to Godward, and to do good works; as the parents in their calling to live quietly and godly together, and to bring up their

youth in godliness: so likewise masters, should shew good examples, to keep their servants from idleness and wickedness. These are good works, when every one doth his calling, as God hath appointed him to do: but they must be done to the end to shew ourselves thankful, and therefore they are called in scripture sacrifices of thanksgiving: not to win heaven withal, for if we should do so, we should deny Christ our Saviour, despise and tread him under our feet. For to what purpose suffered he, when I shall with my good works merit heaven? as the Papists do, which deny him indeed, for they think to get heaven with their pilgrimages, and with running hither and thither. I pray you note this, we must first be made good, before we can do good. We must first be made just, before our works please God: for when we are justified by faith in Christ, and are made good by him, then cometh our duty, that is, to do good works, to make a declaration of our thankfulness.

I have troubled you a good while, and somewhat the longer, because I had much pleasure to comfort myself in it. In times past we were wont to run hither and thither, to this saint, and to that saint, but it is all but fig-leaves what man can do. Therefore let us stick to Christ, which is the right, perfect and absolute Saviour, and able to deliver us from all our sins: and not only able to do it, but also willing. He offereth himself unto us; therefore, I say, let us believe in him, and afterward shew our thankfulness by an honest conversation and living; so that his holy name may be praised amongst us, and they that know him not as yet, may more willingly be brought to the knowledge of him, through our godly conversation. The Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, give us his grace to do well. To whom, with God the Son and the holy Ghost be all honour and glory now and ever, world without end. *Amen.*

THE SERMON
OF
MASTER HUGH LATIMER,
PREACHED ON

THE FIRST SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY, 1552.

LUKE ii. 42.

And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast.

HERE in this gospel is to be noted, how Mary the mother of our Saviour Christ, went to Jerusalem, having her husband, and the child Jesus, which was but twelve years of age in her company, &c. But before I come to this gospel, I will rehearse unto you something which I took in hand last holyday; where I, taking occasion of the gospel that was read the same day, made mention how Jesus the Son of God, and Saviour of the world, was born in Bethlehem, and how God opened his birth unto the Gentiles, which were the three wise men, commonly called the three kings of Colen: but they were not kings, as the fond opinion of the common people is, but they were religious men, and men that feared God: yea, and as some learned men gather, they were of the remnant of those which Daniel the prophet had taught and instructed in the knowledge of God, and of his will. For Daniel being in captivity, bare great rule among the Gentiles, as it appeareth in his book of prophecy, and therefore was able to set forth and promote the true religion of God, which was known at that time only among the Jews: which knowledge these wise men had, and had also a special understanding of astronomy: And now, they seeing the star, perceived that it was not a common thing, but a token that the greatest king was born, of whom they had heard their forefathers talk, and therefore they came to Jerusalem, and inquired for this king, &c.

The last holy-day I had no time to entreat of this matter

fully, and therefore I intend to speak somewhat of it at this time. And first of this word Jesus, what it is.

The Evangelist saith here, “ When Jesus was born.” What is JESUS? JESUS is an Hebrew word, and signifieth in our English tongue a Saviour and Redeemer of all mankind born into the world. This title and name, TO SAVE, pertaineth properly and principally unto him: for he saveth us, else we had been lost for ever. Notwithstanding, the name of saviour is used in common speech, as the king is called a saviour, for he saveth his subjects from all danger and harm that may ensue of the enemies. Likewise the physician is accounted a saviour, for he saveth the sick man from the danger of his disease with good and wholesome medicines. So fathers and mothers are saviours, for they save their children from bodily harm that may happen unto them. So bridges leading over the waters are saviours, for they save us from the water. Likewise ships and boats, great and small vessels upon the seas, are saviours, for they save us from the fury, rage, and tempest of the sea. So judges are saviours, for they save, or at least should save the people from wrong and oppression.

But all this is not a perfect saving: for what availeth it to be saved from sickness, calamities, and oppression, when we shall be condemned after our death both body and soul for ever, to remain with the devil and his angels? We must therefore come to Jesus, who is the right and true Saviour: “ And he it is that hath saved us from sin.” Whom hath he saved? His people. Who are his people? All that believe in him, and put their whole trust in him, and those that seek help and salvation at his hands, all such are his people. How saved he them? First, by magistrates he saved the poor from oppression and wrong: the children he saved through the tuition of the parents, from danger and peril: by physicians he saveth from sickness and diseases: but from sin he saveth only through his passion and blood-shedding. Therefore he may be called, and is the very right Saviour, for it is he that saveth from all infelicity all his faithful people: and his salvation is sufficient to satisfy for all the world as concerning itself, but as concerning us, he saveth no more than such as put their trust in him. And as many as believe in him shall be saved, the other shall be cast out as infidels into everlasting damna-

tion; not for lack of salvation, but for infidelity and lack of faith, which is the only cause of their damnation.

He saved us, from what? even from sin. Now when he saved us from sin, then he saved us from the wrath of God, from affliction and calamities, from hell and death, and from damnation and everlasting pain: for sin is the cause and fountain of all mischief. Take away sin, then all other calamities wherein mankind is wrapped, are taken away, and clean gone and dispersed: therefore he saving us from sin, saved us from all affliction. But how doth he save us from sin? In this manner, that sin shall not condemn us, sin shall not have the victory over us. He saved us not so, that we should be without sin, that no sin should be left in our hearts. No, he saved us not so; for all manner of imperfections remain in us, yea in the best of us, so that if God should enter into judgment with us, we should be damned. For there neither is nor ever was any man born into this world, which could say, I am clean from sin, except Jesus Christ. Therefore he saved us not so from sin, in taking clean away the same from us, that we should no more be inclined to it; but rather, the power and strength of the same sin he hath so vanquished, that it shall not be able to condemn those which believe in him: for sin is remitted, and not imputed unto believers.

So likewise he saved us from sin, not taking it clean away, but rather the strength, and force of the same; so he saved us from other calamities, not taking the same clean away, but rather the power of the same: so that no calamity nor misery should be able to hurt us that are in Christ Jesus. And likewise he saved us from death, not that we should not die, but that death should have no victory over us, nor condemn us; but rather to be a way and entrance into salvation and everlasting life: for death is a gate to enter into everlasting life. No man can come to everlasting life, but he must first die bodily; but this death cannot hurt the faithful, for they are exempted from all danger through the death and passion of Jesus Christ our Saviour, which with his death hath overcome our death.

Here is to be noted the error of the Jews, which believed that this Saviour should be a temporal king and ruler, and deliver them out of the hands of the Romans: for the Jews at that time were under the governance of the Romans, subdued

by Pompey, the great and valiant captain, as Josephus a great learned man amongst the Jews, and Titus Livius do witness. Therefore they believed that this Saviour should not only set them at liberty, but should subdue all nations; so that the Jews only with their Saviour should be the rulers of all the whole world, and that the whole world should serve them. This was at the same time, and is yet still the opinion of the Jews, which will not learn, nor understand that Jesus saved them and us, not from the power of the Romans, but from sin, death, the devil and hell, and set us at liberty, and made us the children of God, and the inheritors of life everlasting.

The papists, which are the very enemies of Christ, make him to be a Saviour after their own phantasy, and not after the word of God, wherein he declareth himself, and set out and opened his mind unto us. They follow, I say, not the scripture, which is the very leader to God, but regarded more their own inventions, and therefore they make him a Saviour after this fashion.

They consider how there shall be after the general resurrection a general judgment, where all mankind shall be gathered together to receive their judgment, then shall Christ, say the papists, sit as a judge, having power over heaven and earth: and all those that have done well in this world, and have stedfastly prayed upon their beads, and have gone a pilgrimage, &c., and so with their good works have deserved heaven and everlasting life; those, say they, that have merited with their own good works, shall be received of Christ, and admitted to everlasting salvation: as for the other, that have not merited everlasting life, they shall be cast into everlasting darkness: for Christ will not suffer wicked sinners to be taken into heaven, but rather receive those which deserve. And so it appeareth that they esteem our Saviour not to be a Redeemer, but only a Judge, which shall give sentence over the wicked to go into everlasting fire, and the good he will call to everlasting felicity.

And this is the opinion of the papists as concerning our Saviour, which opinion is most detestable, abominable, and filthy in the sight of God. For it diminisheth the passion of Christ, it taketh away the power and strength of the same passion, it defileth the honour and glory of Christ, it forsaketh and denieth Christ and all his benefits. For if we shall

be judged after our own deserving, we shall be damned everlastingily. Therefore learn here every good Christian to abhor this most detestable and dangerous poison of the papists which go about to thrust Christ out of his seat ; learn here, I say, to leave all papistry and to stick only to the word of God, which teacheth thee that Christ is not only a judge, but a justifier, a giver of salvation, and a taker away of sin ; for he purchased our salvation through his painful death, and we receive the same through believing in him ; as St. Paul teacheth us, saying, *Justificati gratis per gratiam ipsius per redemtionem quæ est in Christo Jesu* : "Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." (Rom. iii. 24.) In these words of St. Paul, all merits and estimation of works are excluded and clean taken away. For if it were for our works' sake, then it were not freely : But St. Paul saith freely. Whether will you now believe St. Paul, or the papists. It is better for you to believe St. Paul, rather than those most wicked and covetous papists, which seek nothing but their own wealth, and not your salvation.

But if any of you will ask now, how shall I come by my salvation ? How shall I get everlasting life ? I answer, if you believe with an unfeigned heart that Jesus Christ the Son of God came into the world and took upon him our flesh of the Virgin Mary, and suffered under Pontius Pilate, in the city of Jerusalem, the most painful death and passion upon the cross, and was hanged between two thieves for our sins' sake, for in him was no sin ; "neither, (as the prophet Isaiah saith,) was there found in his mouth any guile or deceit." (cap. liii.) For he was a Lamb undefiled, and therefore suffered not for his own sake, but for our sake, and with his suffering hath taken away all our sins and wickedness, and hath made us, which were the children of the devil, the children of God ; fulfilling the law for us to the uttermost ; giving us freely as a gift his fulfilling to be ours, so that we are now fulfillers of the law by his fulfilling : so that the law may not condemn us, for he hath fulfilled it, that we believing in him are fulfillers of the law, and just before the face of God. For Christ with his passion hath deserved, that all that believe in him shall be saved, not through their own good works, but through his passion.

Here thou seest whereupon hangeth thy salvation, namely, believing in the Son of God, which hath prepared and gotten heaven for all those that believe in him, and live uprightly according to his word : for we must do good works, and God requireth them of us : but yet we may not put our trust in them, nor think to get heaven with the same, for our works are wicked and evil, and the best of them be imperfect. As for those which are evil, no man is so foolish to think to get heaven with evil doing. And as concerning our good works they are unperfect, and not so agreeable to the law of God, who requireth most perfect works ; by the which appeareth that the best works which are done by man are hateful before God, and therefore not able to get or deserve salvation. Wherefore we must be justified, not through our good works, but through the passion of Christ, and so live by a free justification and righteousness in Christ Jesu. Whosoever thus believeth, mistrusting himself and his own doings, and trusting in the merits of Christ, he shall get the victory over death, the devil, and hell ; so that they shall not hurt him, neither all their powers be able to stand against any of those which are in Christ Jesu. Therefore when thou art in sickness and feelst that the end of thy bodily life approacheth, and that the devil with his assaults is coming to tempt thee, and have thy soul, and so to bring everlasting confusion, then withstand him strongly in faith ; namely, when he bringeth thee low, for he is an old doctor, and very well learned in the scripture, as it appeareth in the fourth chapter of Matthew, where he reasoned with Christ. So will he reason with thee, saying, “ Sir, it is written in the law, that all those which have not fulfilled the law to the uttermost, shall be condemned. Now thou hast not fulfilled it, but hast been wicked, and a transgressor of it ; thou art mine ; and therefore thou shalt go to hell, and there to be punished world without end.” Against such temptations and assaults of the devil, we must fight on this wise, and answer, “ I acknowledge myself to be a sinner most miserable, and filthy in the sight of God, and therefore as of myself I should be damned according to thy saying ; but there is yet one thing behind, that is this, I know and believe without all doubt, that God hath sent his Son into the world, which suffered a most painful and shameful death for me, and fulfilled

the law wherewith thou wouldest condemn me; yea, he hath given me as a gift his fulfilling, so that I am now reckoned a fulfiller of the law before God; therefore, avoid, thou most cruel enemy, avoid; for I know that my Redeemer liveth, which hath taken away all my sin and wickedness, and set me at unity with God his heavenly Father, and made me a lawful inheritor of everlasting life."

Whoso in such wise fighteth with the devil, shall have the victory, for he is not able to stand against Christ; and it appeareth throughout all the scripture most plainly and manifestly, that the power of the devil is vanquished, when the word of God is used against him; and not only in the scripture, both new and old testament, but also in other writings. For Eusebius Pamphilus hath many stories, wherein is mentioned the impotency of the devil. And at this time we have a story written by a Spaniard in the Latin tongue, and affirmed by many godly and well learned men: which story happened in a town of Germany, where a poor husbandman lying sore sick and ready to die; they that kept him company in the chamber where he lay, saw a man of great stature and very horrible to look upon, his eyes being all fiery, coming into the chamber. This terrible devil turning himself unto the sick body, said, "Sir, thou must die this day, and I am come hither to fetch thy soul, for that pertaineth unto me." The sick man answered with a good countenance, saying, "I am ready to depart whensoever I shall be called of my Lord, which gave unto me my soul, and put the same into my body, therefore to him only I will deliver it, and not unto thee, for he hath delivered my soul from thy power, with the precious blood of his only Son." Then said the devil, "Thou art laden with many sins, and I am come hither to write them together." And forth he draweth out of his bosom pen, ink, and paper, setting himself at the table that stood there ready to write. The sick man hearing his mind, and perceiving his intent, said, "I know myself laden with many sins, but yet I believe that the same are taken away through the passion and suffering of Christ, through whom I stedfastly believe that his heavenly Father is pleased with me: but yet if thou wilt write my sins, thou mayest do it, and then write thus, that all my righteousness is as cloth stained with the flowers of a woman: therefore

I cannot stand in the judgment of God." The devil sitting at the table, wrote this with a good will, and desired the sick man to go forward in confessing, and numbering his sins. Then the sick man alleging the scriptures saith, "that the eternal and living God promised, saying, for mine own sake only I take away your iniquities. Further thou, O God, hast promised, that though our sins be as red as the scarlet, thou wilt make them as white as the snow." But these words he wrote not, but instantly desired him to go forward as he had begun. The sick man with great sorrow and heaviness cried out, saying, "The Son of God appeared to that end, that he might destroy the works of the devil." And after these words the devil vanished out of sight, and shortly after the sick man departed unto the living God.

Here you see how the devil will go to work with us, when we are sick, therefore let us learn now while we are in health to know God and his word, that we may withstand this horrible enemy; knowing that we shall have the victory through Christ our Saviour, in whom and by whom God is pleased with us, and taketh in good part all our doings.

We have a common saying amongst us: "Every thing is as it is taken." We read of king Henry the Seventh, at a time as he was served with a cup of drink, a gentleman that brought the cup, in making obeisance, the cover fell to the ground; the king seeing his folly, saith, Sir, is this well done? Yea, Sir, said he, if your majesty take it well. With this pretty answer the king was pacified. So it is with us as touching our salvation. Our works are unperfect, but God taketh the same well for Christ's sake; he will not impute unto us the imperfectness of our works, for all our imperfections and sins are drowned in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and whosoever believeth the same stedfastly, shall not perish. But we must be sure of it; we may not doubt, but be certain that Christ hath destroyed the works of Satan; that is, he hath taken his power from him, so that he can do us no more harm: and we must certainly believe his promises, which are, that we shall have life everlasting in believing in him, and being sure of his promises, then are we sure of our salvation. Here you see, that we must seek our salvation, not in our works, but in Christ. For if we look

upon our works, we shall never be sure, as I said before, they be evil and imperfect ; and evil works deserve anger, and imperfect works are punishable, and not acceptable, and therefore they deserve no heaven, but rather punishment.

But you will say, seeing we can get nothing with good works, we will do nothing at all, or else do such works as shall best please us ; seeing we shall have no rewards for our well-doings : I answer, we are commanded by God's word to apply ourselves to goodness, every one in his calling ; but we must not do it to the end to deserve heaven thereby ; we must do good works to shew ourselves thankful for all his benefits which he hath poured upon us, and in respect of God's commandment, considering that God willeteth us to do well, not to make a merit of it ; for this were a denying of Christ, to say I will live well and deserve heaven. This is a damnable opinion ; let us rather think thus, I will live well to shew myself thankful towards my loving God, and Christ my Redeemer.

Further, in this gospel is to be noted the earnestness of these three men which were but Gentiles, as you have heard before. These men were not double-hearted, speaking one thing with their tongues, and thinking another thing in their hearts. No, they are none such : but they openly profess wherefore they come, and say, " Where is this new-born king of the Jews, for we have seen his star, and are come to worship him ? " This is a great matter for them to do. For the Jews at that time had a king whose name was Herod, not a Jew born, but an Idumean, which was not their lawful nor natural king, but somewhat with craft and subtily, and somewhat with power, had gotten the crown and the kingdom.

Now the men came inquiring for the lawful king which was newly born ; which thing they could not do without danger of their lives. But here appeareth that faith feareth no danger. They had seen the star, and they were sure and certain in their hearts that the King of all Kings was born : and they believed that this king was able to deliver them out of trouble ; and this confidence and faith in God made them hearty to go and inquire without any dissembling for this new king, not fearing the old, &c.

Herod hearing these news was much troubled, for he was afraid the matter would go against him, and that he should be

thrust out of his seat, which had been a great displeasure unto him; for he was not minded to give place to any other king with his good will. And all the citizens were sore dismayed, for they would rather have rest and quietness and serve the old, than to receive the new with peril of their goods and bodies. So we see at this day, where this gospel is preached, and this new king proclaimed, there are more which had rather be in quietness and serve the devil, than to stand in jeopardy of their lives and serve God; and so they esteem this world more than God, his word, and their own salvation.

The said Herod, as soon as he heard these tidings, sent for the bishops and learned, and inquired of them where Christ should be born. The bishops were well seen in the prophets and the law, and made answer forthwith, that Christ should be born at Bethlehem. Herod hearing that, sent for the wise men to examine them better of the matter, asking them what time they had seen the star? And after he had reasoned enough with them, he sent them to Bethlehem, saying, "Go and search for the child; and when you have found him, bring me word again that I may come and worship him also."

See what a crafty fox this Herod was, as our Saviour called him; he made a pretence like as if he were willing to give over his kingdom, and to give place unto the new king. Such was his pretence outwardly: but his heart was poisoned with the poison of cruelty and ambition, so that he was minded to have killed the child as soon as he might get him; which his intent appeared afterward. For he hearing that the wise men were returned another way into their country, sent by and by his guard and killed all the children that were two years old and under, at Bethlehem, and in the country. But for all his cruelty, God was able to preserve Christ that he should not be slain amongst these children. Therefore the angel giveth Joseph warning that he should go into Egypt.

Here learn to trust in God, for *adversus altissimum non est consilium*, that is "Against the Almighty prevaleth no counsel." This Herod thought himself wiser than God and the whole world; yet for all that he was much deceived: for he could neither destroy the wise men nor Christ, with all his wit and counsel; "the Lord that sitteth above, laughed him to scorn," (Ps. xxi.) he brought his counsel to nought, and he delivered them out of

his hands. So undoubtedly, he will do with us. He will deliver us out of all our troubles, and from all our enemies whosoever they shall oppress us, if we do put our trust in him.

Now after they were departed from Herod, they go their ways seeking the child. And as soon as they came out of the city, they see the star, which guided them until they came unto the house where Jesus was, with his mother, and Joseph his father in the law. And when these men came thither what did they? They worshipped him. Note here, they worshipped him, saith the evangelist; here is confounded and overthrown the foolish opinion and doctrine of the papists which would have us to worship a creature before the Creator, Mary before her Son. These wise men do not so; they worship not Mary; wherefore? Because God only is to be worshipped: but Mary is not God; therefore they worship not her, but him, which is the very natural Son of God, yea God himself, and yet very man. And therefore if it had been allowed or commanded that Mary the mother of Christ should have been called upon and worshipped, surely then had these wise men been greatly to blame; but they knew that Mary was a blessed woman, and yet not such a one as should be called upon and worshipped.

Let all those learn here that are so foolish, that they will call rather upon Mary, on whom they have no commandment to call, than upon God who hath commanded us to call upon him, as he saith every where in the Psalms, *Invoca me in die tribulationis*, “Call upon me in the time of thy trouble, and I will hear thee.” (Ps. l. 15.)

They gave him gifts, gold, myrrh, and frankincense. Gold, they gave him to signify his kingdom; myrrh, to signify his mortality; frankincense, to signify his priesthood. And afterward they departed another way into their countries, by the admonition of the angel. After their departure, Joseph with Mary and the child fled into Egypt, for fear of Herod, which was minded to destroy the child; where you may learn to know the wonderful provision that God ever maketh for those that put their trust in him; for to the intent they might have wherewith to bear their costs for such a journey, God moved their hearts, that they should give him gold. Learn, I say, here to put your trust in God, and to have a good confidence

in him, for he is such a loving father to those that trust in him, that he will not suffer them to have lack or need of any thing in this world, of food and necessary things, for he careth for us that believe in him, as well as for Mary and her Son. Therefore he will not suffer us to have lack of what is needful to soul or body ; for the king and prophet David saith, *Nunquam vidi justum derelictum*, “ I have never seen the just man forsaken or rejected of God, nor cast away.” (Ps. xxxvii.) No, saith he, I have never seen the just man perish for lack of necessary things. But what is a just man ? He is just that believeth in our Saviour : for as you have heard before, those who believe in Christ are justified before God, they are clean delivered from all sins, and therefore may be called just, for so they are in the sight of God ; such, saith the prophet, he hath never seen forsaken of God.

But for all this, we may not tempt God ; we must labour and do our business every one in his vocation and order wherein God hath called him. Labour thou, and God will bless thee, and increase thy labours ; so that thou shalt have no lack of necessary things so long as thou walkest uprightly in thy vocation, like as he provided for Mary and her child ; but yet thou must labour and do thy business, as it is written, *Labores manuum tuarum edes et bene tibi erit*, “ Be content to work for thy living, and it shall go well with thee, and thou shalt have enough, for I will make thee a living ;” (Ephes. iv.) which promise of God is surely a comfortable thing, but little regarded of the people : for they do like as if there were no God, and deceive and oppress one another. Every man scrapeth for himself, ever in fear that he shall lack, nothing regarding that promise of God ; but God is yet alive, and surely he will most grievously punish such wicked unthankfulness and mistrust of his word and promise. What might be more comfortable unto us, if we had grace to believe it, than his loving promises, wherein he sheweth himself a loving Father ? David saith, *Juvenis fui, et senui*, “ I have been young, and now am old; but yet I never saw the righteous lack bread.” (Ps. xxxvii.) Here learn, O man, to have respect to God-ward, esteem the word of God and his promises as they are ; that is, most certain and true : believe them, hang upon them, labour and do thy business truly, *Et bene tibi erit*, “ And it shall be well with

thee ;" thou shalt have enough, thou shalt have a store-house that never shall be empty, that is, thy labour : for the poor man's treasure-house is to labour and travail, and he is more sure of his living than the rich : for God's promises cannot be stolen by any thief; God promiseth him a living that truly laboureth and putteth his trust in him. But the rich man is not sure of his riches, for a thief may come and steal them, or else the same may perish by fire, or one way or other ; therefore the poor faithful man is more sure of his living, than if he had the same in his chest ; for God's promises are not vain, they are most certain, and happy are those which believe the same, they shall have not only in this world enough, but afterward life everlasting, without all sorrow and misery.

Thus much I was minded to tell you of this gospel : now let us return to the gospel of this day, wherein I will note two or three short notes ; for I will not trouble you much longer, because the time is much spent.

" And when he was twelve years old," &c. God Almighty had commanded in his law, Deuteronomy, the sixteenth chapter, that all the males should come together three times in the year, for these three causes. The first was, that they should learn to trust in God, and not in their own strength : and it was a great matter unto them to leave the land void. As if we Englishmen had commandment to come all to London, and leave our country, were it not to be feared that the country should be hurt either by the Scots or Frenchmen in our absence ? Surely, I think it were very dangerous. So that at that time, the Jews had great and mortal enemies round about them, yet God commanded them to leave the land void ; as who would say ; Come you together after my commandment, and let me alone with your enemies, I will keep them from you that they shall not hurt you. And this was the first cause why he would have them come together,

The second cause was, that they should learn the law and commandments of God : for there was the chief temple of the Jews, and all the spirituality of the whole land were there gathered together, and taught the people the law, and how they should walk before God ; and this was the second cause.

The third cause of their coming together, was for acquaintance sake, for God would have them knit together in earnest.

love and charity. And therefore he willeth them to come together, that they that dwelled on the one side of the land, might be acquainted with them that dwelled on the other side, so that there might be a perfect love between them; for God hateth nothing more than discord. And these are the causes why they were commanded to come together every year three times.

Now at this time Mary went with her husband Joseph: belike she was desirous to hear the word of God, that made her to take so great a journey in hand, for she was not commanded by the law to be there, for women were at their liberty to go or tarry.

Here note the painfulness of Mary, that she was content to go so great a journey for God's sake. I fear this journey of hers will condemn a great many of us, which will not go out of the door to hear God's word. Therefore learn here, first, to love and embrace God's word. Secondly, to follow all good orders. Thirdly, to be content to go with thy neighbours every holiday to the church; for it is a good and godly order, and God will have it so. But peradventure you will say unto me, How chance you go not to the service upon the holidays? I have none other excuse but this, namely, that I shall go thither in vain. Mary went thither to hear the word of God; and if I might hear the word of God there, I would go thither with a good will: but first, the parson of the church is ignorant and unable to teach the word of God, neither beareth he any good will to the word of God; therefore it were better for me to teach my family at home, than to go thither and spend my time in vain, and so lose my labour. This I have to allege for myself, that if the curate were as he ought to be, I would not be from the church upon the holiday.

Jesus and Mary with all their neighbours were at Jerusalem: and after they had done their business, they came home again; Mary in the company of other women, and Joseph her husband in the company of men, but Jesus the child was left behind, for Mary thought he was with his father, and Joseph thought he was with his mother. At night when they were met together, she asked him, and he asked her for the child; for before they were not aware that they had lost him. Oh what sorrow and tribulation rose then in their hearts; I think no-

tongue can shew what pain and sorrow this mother felt in her heart, for the loss of her child : for she thought thus, God hath rejected me, and therefore hath taken my son from me, I shall no more find him. Alas, that ever I was born, that I should lose my son, whom I heard say should be the Saviour of the world. This Saviour is lost now through my negligence and slothfulness ; what shall I do ? where shall I seek him ? In this great heaviness, she turned back again to Jerusalem, inquiring for him by the way amongst their friends and acquaintance ; but he could neither be heard of nor found until they came to Jerusalem, where they found him amongst the doctors and learned men, arguing with them, and posing them.

Here is to be noted a negligence in Mary and Joseph, therefore they which go about to make Mary to be without sin are much deceived : for here it appeareth plainly that Mary was in fault. Here also all parents may learn to be diligent and careful about their children. The common sort of parents are either too careful for their children, or else too negligent. But the right carefulness that you should have over your children, is first to consider that God hath appointed his angels to keep and save your children from all peril and danger that may happen unto them, as it plainly appeareth daily ; for sure a child is in many dangers of his life daily, but the angel of God keepeth them ; and therefore the parents should not be too careful, neither yet too negligent ; for they should consider, that it is the will, pleasure, and commandment of almighty God, that they should keep their children in safe custody, and to preserve them as much as in them lieth from all danger and harm.

Further, here it is to be noted, that this fault and sin of Mary was not set out to embolden us to sin, but rather to keep us from desperation when we have sinned : making this reckoning, hath God pardoned his saints and forgiven their faults ? then he will be merciful unto me, and forgive my sin. So by their example we may strengthen our faith, and not to take boldness of them to sin.

After that they found him, Mary beginneth to quarrel with him, saying, " Son, why hast thou done this unto us ?" Here she speaketh like a mother, and is very quick with him : but he

made her as quick an answer, saying, "Know ye not that I must do the business of my Father?" &c. We learn here how far forth children are bound to obey their parents, namely, so far as the same may stand with godliness. If they will have us go further, and pluck us from true religion and the serving of God, make them this answer "*Oportet magis obedire Deo, quam hominibus,*" "We ought rather to obey God than men;" (Acts v.) for otherwise we are not bound to obey our parents, &c. Here not only children may learn, but subjects and servants, to obey their king and masters, so far as it may stand with God's pleasure, and further to go we ought not.

The child went home with them, and was obedient to them, although partly he had signified unto them wherefore he was sent into the world; namely, to teach men the way to heaven; yet he remained with them in his obedience from this time, being of the age of twelve years, unto the age of thirty years. And in this mean time (as it is to be thought) he exercised his father's occupation, which was a carpenter. This is a wonderful thing, that the Saviour of the world, and the King above all kings, was not ashamed to labour, yea and to use so simple an occupation. Here he did sanctify all manner of occupations, exhorting and teaching us with this ensample every man to follow and keep the state whereunto God hath called him, and then we shall have living enough in this world; doing well and after his pleasure, and in the world to come life everlasting; which Christ by his death and passion hath deserved for us. To whom, with God the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, both now and for ever. *Amen.*

A SERMON,

PREACHED BY

MASTER HUGH LATIMER,

THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY, THE 17th
DAY OF JANUARY, ANNO 1559.

JOHN ii. 1.

And upon the third day, there was a marriage in Cana, a city of Galilee, and Mary the mother of Jesus was there.

THE third day, that was the third day after he came into Galilee, for before he was in Jewry, and now was come into Galilee. And there was a marriage the third day after his coming, and Mary his mother was present, and as it was most like, she was there as an helper, for she was no bidden guest, but Christ was called unto it with his disciples, being thirty years of age, at which time he began to preach the kingdom of God; but as yet he had done no miracles, except that which he did when he was twelve years of age, that was, he disputed in the temple with the doctors, which certainly was a miracle; but this now was the first that he did after his preaching. And now being a preacher he beginneth to confirm all his doctrine with miracles, to get himself authority, and to allure his audience to believe; and therefore he set forth his power by miracles.

And here peradventure some will say, how happeneth it that there are no miracles done in these days by such as are preachers of the word of God? I answer, the word of God is already confirmed by miracles, partly by Christ himself, and partly by the apostles and saints. Therefore they which now preach the same word, need no miracles for the confirmation thereof, for the same is sufficiently confirmed already. Now to the gospel.

"There was a marriage," saith the evangelist. This is a comfortable place for all married folks: for it here appeareth

that marriage is a most honourable and acceptable thing in the sight of God, yea, God Almighty himself is the author of it, as the scripture saith, " Those that God hath joined together, man shall not separate ; " (Matt. xix.) meaning that all those that come together by the appointment of God and his holy institution, such shall not man separate, nor put asunder. Here all those which go about marriage, may learn to examine their consciences, and to be sure that it is the pleasure and will of God that man and wife should marry and dwell together. And they which are married already may comfort themselves in all afflictions, adversities, and miseries that come by marriage ; namely, that they are in the favour of God, and that God hath joined them together in that estate ; which estate although it bring with it great affliction and tribulation, as we may see by Adam and Eve when they were in Paradise, where God grievously punished their sins : for before the fall, the wife had like power with her husband Adam, and was in like dignity with him : but after the fall came the commandment of God to the man, saying, " In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread," which is a great bondage unto man : for in this compaction is contained the whole burthen and charge laid upon the man's back ; that is to say, that he hath the charge over his household to provide for their livings and sustenance, with his labour and occupation. And unto the woman he said, " In sorrow and pain thou shalt bring forth thy children, and thou shalt be in obedience to thy husband, he shall govern thee, and thou shalt not have thine own will nor liberty :" which is a great matter, for women have many great sorrows and pains in travail with children, and other calamities : And being before at liberty, must now be obedient to their husbands ; which also seemeth a great pain and burthen unto them : but for all this, they may comfort themselves with the word of God, and think in their hearts and say, " O God, thou hast brought us together in the estate of matrimony, it was thy ordinance and pleasure that we should join together : now, therefore be merciful unto us, forsake us not which live in thy ordinance and after thy commandments ; pour thy spirit into our hearts, that we may bear and suffer all these miseries which thou layest upon our necks." And in this manner married folks may comfort themselves with the word of

God in all their adversities, because they are sure that marriage is a thing that pleaseth God.

Here learn to abhor the abominable opinion of the papists, which hold that marriage is not an holy thing, and that the ministers of the word of God be defiled through marriage if they enter into the same; which is an abominable doctrine, and clean against God and his word. Therefore St. Paul seeing beforehand in the Spirit, "In the latter times there shall come deceivers, and false teachers, which should teach *doctrinam dæmoniorum*, that is, the doctrine of devils, forbidding marriage." Which prophecy of St. Paul is verified now in this our time in the papists, for they say and teach that marriage is not lawful to every man, despising also the ordinance of God. Therefore their doctrine may be called, as it is indeed, the doctrine of the devil: against which doctrine St. Paul made a proclamation, saying, *honorable conjugium inter omnes*, "Marriage is lawful, honourable and most godly among all men, and as for adulterers and fornicators God shall judge them." (Heb. xiii.) This St. Paul speaketh by occasion, seeing in spirit that there would come such papists as would pervert the ordinance of God, and say that marriage is unholy, and that a man may not marry in Lent, for it is a holy time; as though marriage were unholy and filthy. But here ye may see it is the very ordinance of God, and is commended by Christ himself; for he cometh unto it, and with his presence he sanctifieth it. And not only that, but he did a miracle at this marriage, whereby he confirmed marriage to be good, holy, and acceptable before God. Therefore all those that go about marriage ought to know that it is good, holy, and lawful before God: only thus I admonish you, have a respect to godward; that is to say, endeavour yourself so that God may be with you at your marriage, and that Christ be one of your guests, for if he be there you shall have no lack of any thing. And to signify that he would help them that lacked, he did a miracle at this marriage, he remedied what lacked, wine lacked, and forthwith he turned water into wine.

Here note that it is lawful for poor men sometimes to be merry, specially at a marriage; for these were poor men, yet they had wine at the marriage, where their common drink was but water; but now at the wedding they had wine, because

they might be merry at the solemnity of God's ordinance; which as it is lawful, so let it be done honestly and godly, as becometh Christian men.

Further, we learn here that the saints in heaven have been sinners: for after St. Augustin's mind, Mary was here moved with vain-glory, and went about to provoke Christ to do some new thing, not seeking the honour of God, but her own glory, that it might be said she had a son that could do this and that. But here we must take heed, that we use well their ensample, not thinking after this manner: the saints of God have sinned, and yet have been saved; and therefore I will sin, and nevertheless I shall be saved: for so to think were very detestable, and a great abuse. But we must rather comfort ourselves by their sins, saying: When the devil tempteth us, and goeth about to bring us to confusion, then let us call to remembrance, that the saints of God have been sinners, and yet are saved; and that God will be likewise as merciful to us, and will forgive us our sins. And therefore let us not despair, but put our trust in him, and hope, and believe in him, and in no wise to shrink from him: for he is as merciful as ever he was, and he will pardon and remit our sins: he is as mighty as ever he was, and therefore may do it: wherefore I will seek unto him, like as Mary Magdalen and other his saints have done, and therefore are saved. In this manner let us use ensamples of the saints to our comfort, and not to embolden us to sin.

Further, let us here learn by the mother of Christ, whither we shall run for help, when we are in necessity and distress. Mary perceived that there was lack of wine, and had therefore pity over her poor friends: now in this distress, whither runneth she for her help, even to Christ himself. Then let us follow her ensample: art thou poor? run to Christ, and call upon God in the name of Christ: ask forgiveness of thy sins in his name, and God will hear thee, and grant thy petition, for he hath promised that all that come to him in the name of Christ, shall lack nothing, neither shall they be rejected of him.

Here also note further, the great charity that was in Mary the mother of Christ, which prayed for her friends, namely, in the time of their lack and necessity, saying, *Vinum non*

habent, that is, “They have no wine:” as who should say, they are poor honest folks, and have here an honest company at their marriage; now they lack wine, I pray you help. She was not long in bubble-babble, with saying she wist not what, but saith at one word, Help, for it is need. She doth not as our papists do, which prattle-prattle a whole day upon their beads, saying our Lady’s psalter; but she only saith, “They have no wine; help,” &c.

Christ answered, “Woman, what have I to do with thee?” Here appeareth the great faith that Mary had in our Saviour Jesu Christ her son: for notwithstanding she had received of him this hard and sharp answer, yet she despaired not, but commanded the servants to do all that he should command them. Here let us learn not to despair in the help of God, though we be not heard and obtain our petition at the first: as many do which call upon God a day or two, and obtain not, then they despair and give over. But we may not do so, we must tarry for the Lord, as the prophet David saith, and not give over; we must call upon him with a strong faith in Christ Jesu our Mediator, without intermission; not doubting but he will help us. Therefore tarry for the Lord, as the prophet David saith, and give not over in haste, but continue and abide his godly will and pleasure, and doubt not but he will hear thee.

“Woman?” What a thing was this, to call his mother “Woman?” These words might not only sound to the dishonesty of his mother, but also to his own rebuke: for it might be judged, that he was one that neither loved nor reverenced his mother, in calling her woman. To this objection, this answer may be made: Christ, as long as he was under the government of his mother, did all his duty as appertained unto him, but now being a preacher and a common person, serving in the common ministry, he is not bound to be ruled by his mother; neither did it appertain to his mother, either to appoint him what he should do, or when he should do it, and therefore this seemed a great presumption in her, and therefore he answered her so sharply.

St. Augustine saith, that Mary was moved with vain-glory, to get some praise of the miracle of her son. Here is to be noted how far we are bound to obey father and mother; which

is so far as the same may stand with godliness. If they require of us any thing that is against God, we must answer them as our Saviour Christ answered his mother, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" For here our Saviour in a certain manner sheweth, that he would not be led with affection. As at another time when he was making a sermon, there came one interrupting him, and said, "Thy mother and thy brethren would speak with thee." Then Christ stretched out his hands and said, "Whosoever doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my mother and brethren." And at that time, another woman hearing him, cried out, saying, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee suck. He answered and said, Blessed are those which hear the word of God, and follow the same." So at that time he made such an answer unto his mother, signifying that he would not be led by their affections, and also would shew, that he was not only her son, but "he was the Son of God."

"Six water-pots of stone," &c. The six pots were filled with water to wash withal, for the Jews used much washing, as when they went to market, coming home they washed themselves, lest they should be defiled; so this water was set there, partly to wash, and partly to drink. And here we may learn, that when Christ is bidden to our marriage, there shall lack nothing, for he will turn the sour water into sweet wine. For water signifieth all such anguishes, calamities and miseries as may happen by marriages: and all such kind of water, that is, all such calamities and miseries, he turned into wine, that is, he sendeth comfort, he sendeth his Spirit, that maketh those miseries that were before very bitter, most sweet and pleasant: the same Spirit of God comforteth the heart, and keepeth it from desperation.

Also, we may learn here by this marriage, to keep a good order in our business here, as one appointed had the oversight of all, so we may not let every body be rulers; but to keep good order in all our business, let some rule, and some be ruled.

"They filled them up to the brim," &c. This was all done that the miracle might be known, not seeking his own honour and glory, but rather the honour and glory of God his Father, and our wealth and salvation; and to allure and bring

us to have faith in him, and to teach us to put our trust in him, and also to bring us from carefulness of this life, unto the consideration of the life to come. This is a comfortable story ; this miracle of our Saviour, whereby he sheweth that whosoever believeth and trusteth him, shall not lack any thing. For as a very learned man saith, If a labouring man should see all that he gathereth and spendeth in a year in a chest, it would not find him half a year ; yet it findeth him, God multiplieth it day by day, and so he will do unto all them that believe and trust in him.

Now you have heard in this gospel, beside other good matters, of marriage how holy a thing it is, how it is the ordinance of God himself : also how we shall take marriage in hand, namely, call Christ unto it, and let him be one of the guests, and then all things will be well : for without him, nothing will be ought. Marriage is like a schoolhouse, where you shall have occasion of patience, and occasion of love. Now except Christ be in this schoolhouse of marriage, you cannot be patient in trouble, neither can you truly love, neither can you do any thing acceptable unto God. Wherefore, whosoever will take in hand marriage, let him take it so in hand that it may redound to the honour and glory of God : then will he be there, and turn the water into wine ; that is to say, he will mitigate and assuage all calamities and miseries with his Spirit and grace : so that no adversity shall hurt us in this world, and in the world to come we shall have life everlasting, which God the Father grant us, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, to whom, with God and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

A SERMON

PREACHED ON

THE THIRD SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY, 1553,
BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

MATTHEW viii. 1, 2, 8.

Cum descendisset autem de monte, ecce lepronus.

When he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him.
And behold, there came a leper and worshipped him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus put forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will, be thou clean. And instantly his leprosy was cleansed.

THIS is a notable miracle, and a most comfortable history, which though it were done upon a lazarus man only, yet the doctrine of the same appertaineth to us and to all men, and so shall it do unto the end of the world. For St. Paul saith, *Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram eruditionem scripta sunt*, “ Whatsoever is written, is written for our instruction,” (Rom. xv.) Therefore if we will consider and ponder this story well, we shall find much matter in it to our great comfort and edifying.

“ When he was come down,” &c. He had been upon the mountain making a sermon, which is contained in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of this evangelist, which sermon is very notable, and containeth the sum of a christian man’s life. At the which sermon the people were greatly astonished, and much marvelled : whereby you may note the strength and efficacy of the word of God, which word, if it light upon good ground, that is upon a good heart that will receive it, it turneth with his strength the same, and bringing a marvelling, like as it happened unto this people which had received the word, and marvelled at it.

Also you may note here the inconstancy of the people; which now greatly esteemed and regarded our Saviour and his

word, and shortly after consented to his death, by persuasion of the bishops: which was a great and heinous wickedness in the face of God: therefore let us not follow their ensample, neither let us be persuaded by any man living to forsake God and his word, but rather let us suffer death for it. Howbeit I fear me, that if there should come a persecution, there would be a great number of those which now speak fair of the gospel, like unto this people; for I fear me they would soon be persuaded by the papistical priests, to do and say against Christ, to forsake his word, and deny the gospel; like as these people did, forgetting clean, and setting aside all that which they had heard of our Saviour upon the mountain. Let us therefore, I say, beware, and let us acknowledge the great love of God our heavenly Father, shewed unto us so plainly in these latter days, that none except he be wilful and obstinate, but he may understand the same, the which is as great a benefit as may be. And happy are we if we consider this great goodness of God, and shew ourselves thankful unto him by godly living and honest conversation, according to his commandment. And in this gospel is specially to be noted, the great love and kindness of our Saviour toward mankind, which first preached unto the people, and taught them the way unto everlasting life, and then came down and healed the diseased man; that is, he first succoured our souls, and afterward comforted our bodies.

There cometh a leper unto him, saying, "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst help me." This lazarus took Christ to be a Saviour, and therefore he cometh unto him for help. So let us come unto him, for he is the Saviour of mankind, and he is the only helper that succoureth both our bodies and souls. He saveth our souls by his word, if when we hear the same we believe it. The salvation of our bodies shall appear at the last day, where soul and body shall come together, and there shall be rewarded. So that if the soul be saved, the body is saved; for soul and body shall go together; and so he saveth both our bodies and souls. Note here also the behaviour of this leper, for by his ensample the best doctor in divinity need not be ashamed to learn: for in him appeareth a marvellous strong faith and confidence that he had in Christ; for he doubted not but that Christ was able to help him: neither mistrusted he

his goodness and mercy. Therefore faith hath moved him to come to Christ, and to desire help of him.

And note here also the love and great charity of our Saviour Christ, which first he shewed to the whole multitude, in teaching them so earnestly and diligently the way to everlasting life. And then he extended his great compassion and mercy unto this leper, whom all men abhorred, because of his filthiness and uncleanness. But Christ abhorred him not; yea, he is content not only to hear his request, and to talk with him, but also laid his hands upon his filthy body. O how great a kindness was this? O what a wonderful thing is this? that the King of all kings talketh here most familiarly with a poor wretch and filthy leper? O what profound and incomprehensible love beareth he unto us! It is esteemed a great thing, when a king vouchsafeth to talk with a poor man, being one of his subjects: what a great thing then is it, that the King of all kings, yea, the Ruler of heaven and earth, talketh with a poor man, heareth his request, and mercifully granteth the same? This Evangelist saith, “Behold, there came a leper, and worshipped him;” but another Evangelist saith, “he fell upon his knees before him.” These are gestures and behaviours, which signify a reverence done unto him, or a subjection, or submission.

For although our Saviour went like a poor man, yet this leper had conceived such a faith and trust in him, that he had no respect of his outward appearance, but followed his faith, which faith told him, that this was the Saviour. Therefore he set aside all outward shew, and came with great reverence unto him, desiring his help. And here you may learn good manners; for it is a good sight, and very commendable, and is also the commandment of God, that we should give honour to those to whom honour belongeth; specially preachers ought to be reverenced, and that for their office sake, for they are the officers of God, and God’s treasurers. And such as are proud persons may be ashamed by this leper: for this is certain and true, that a proud heart prayeth never well, and therefore is hated before God. Wherefore amongst other vices, beware of pride and stoutness: for what was the cause that Lucifer being the fairest angel in heaven, was made the most horrible devil; and cast down from heaven into hell? Pride only was

the cause of it. Therefore St. Augustine hath a pretty saying; *Quemcunque superbum esse videris, diaboli filium esse ne dubites*, that is to say, “ Whosoever thou seest a proud man, doubt not but he is the son of the devil.” Let us learn therefore by this leper, to have a humble and meek spirit.

Moreover, this man was a leper and a miserable man, one despised of all men, and an outcast. For it was commanded in the law of God, that no man should keep company with a leper; therefore it appeareth that he was in great misery: but what doth he? whither runneth he for help and succour? Even to Christ, to him only he runneth; not to witches or sorcerers, as ungodly men do; but he seeketh for comfort of our Saviour. Now when you are in distress, in misery, in sickness, in poverty, or any other calamity, follow the example of this leper, run to Christ, seek help and comfort only at his hands, and then thou shalt be delivered and made safe, like as he was delivered after he came to Christ.

But what brought he with him? even his faith: he believed that Christ was able to help him, and therefore according to his faith it happened unto him. Then it shall be necessary for thee to bring faith with thee, for without faith thou canst get nothing at his hands: bring therefore, I say, faith with thee; believe that he is able to help thee, and that he is merciful and will help thee. And when thou comest furnished with such a faith, surely thou shalt be heard; thou shalt find him a loving Father, and a faithful friend, and a Redeemer of thee out of all tribulation. For faith is like a hand wherewith we receive the benefits of God; and except we take his benefits with the hand of faith, we shall never have them.

Here in this gospel you may learn the right use of scripture, for when you shall hear and read such stories as this is, you must not think that such stories and acts done by our Saviour are but temporal, but you must consider that they are done for our sake, and for our instruction and teaching. Therefore when you hear such stories, you must consider eternal things which are set before your eyes by such stories, and so we must apply them to ourselves. As for example, here is a lazarus, and he calleth upon Christ with a good faith, and was healed. You will say, What is that unto us? Even as he was a leper of his body, so are we lepers of our souls.

He was unclean in his body, and we are unclean in our souls. He was healed by believing in Christ, so we must be healed by him, or else perish eternally. Therefore if thou wilt not perish, then call upon him as this lazarus did, and thou shalt be holpen and cleansed of thy leprosy ; that is, from all thy sin. So I say, we must apply the scriptures unto us, and take out something to strengthen our faith withal, and to edify ourselves with God's word.

Another ensample we read in the scripture, that God destroyed with fire, Sodom and Gomorrah. Wherefore ? Even for sin's sake. What manner of sin? whoredom, lechery, and other uncleanness. Also for despising and abusing of poor men and strangers. What is this to us now ? We learn in this story, how that God will not suffer sin, nor wilful sinners, but he will punish the same either here, or else in the world to come, or else in both : he will not let them go unpunished. Therefore when we hear this story, we may learn to avoid all sin and wickedness, and to live uprightly and godly, and this we learn by that story, which is an ensample of God's wrath and anger against sin.

Take another ensample of faith : we read in the scripture that Abraham believed God, and his faith justified him. Now when I hear this, I must apply it to myself in this manner. Abraham believed in God, and his faith justified him ; I will believe in God and follow his word, then shall I also be justified : for St. Paul saith, that the same believing of Abraham, is not written for Abraham's sake, but for our sakes, to teach us that God will justify us if we believe in him, and punish us when we are unfaithful, &c.

Now note here how this man came, see how humbly and meekly he cometh, and what a good and strong faith he had in Christ, which faith appeared by his coming : for if he had been without faith, he would not have come unto him, because our Saviour kept but a mean estate, not a king's court ; he was poor, and therefore the more despised of the misbelievers. But this man believed, and therefore he came unto him. Learn therefore by this ensample, to go to Christ in what affliction soever we be : let us run to him, and pray unto God for his sake : allege him, put him before thee, and beware that thou call not upon any creature or saint : for this is a

great wickedness before God, in praying to saints ; for with the saints we have nothing to do, but to keep in memory and follow their godly life, and righteous living. But our prayer must be made unto Christ only, like as this man doth here in this gospel.

But peradventure you will say, he was upon the earth when this man called upon him, and therefore he was so soon heard. I answer, he promised to his disciples after his resurrection, that he would be with us to the end of the whole world : his words be true, for he cannot be made a liar ; therefore we must believe him, and no doubt but he will be present with us whensoever we call upon him. Call upon him therefore, and not upon saints ; for if we call upon saints, we make them gods. For if I call upon St. Paul here, and another man that is a thousand miles off, calleth upon him also, then we make him like unto God to be every where, to hear and see all things ; which is against all scripture : for God only is omnipotent, that is, he only is almighty, and he is every where, and seeth all things, and so doth no creature else. Therefore those which do attribute such things as appertain to God only, that is our Creator, to any creature, they do naughtily and wickedly, and shall be punished for it in hell-fire, except they amend and be sorry for their faults.

But what was this man's prayer ? Did he pray upon his beads, and say our Lady's Psalter ? No, no ; he was never brought up in any such popish schools. What said he ? *Domine, si vis potes me sanare,* “ If thou wilt, O Lord, thou canst make me clean, and put away my disease.” This is but a short prayer, but it containeth much : for first it teacheth how we should pray unto God, namely, conditionally in our outward and bodily things, that is to say, when it pleaseth him ; and so did our Saviour himself pray to his heavenly Father, saying, *Si vis, Pater, transeat à me calix iste,* “ If thou wilt, Father, let this cup pass from me.” (Matt. xxvi.) So we should do, when we are in any manner of tribulation or sickness, that is, pray unto God conditionally, saying, O Lord God, if it please thee, and if it may stand with thy honour and glory, and the salvation of my soul, help and deliver me : we must put the matter to him, for he knoweth best what is good for us. Peradventure he seeth, that if we should be without

affliction, we would be wanton, wicked, and proud, and so sin against him, and damn our souls ; and then it were better for us to be in sickness than in health. Therefore we must desire help, if it please him ; that is to say, when it appertaineth to our salvation, or else it were a thousand times better to be sick still, than to be out of sickness, and fall from God and all goodness ; he therefore knoweth best what is good for us. Trust in him, be content to be ruled by him ; he shall and will order the matter so, that thou shalt find him a loving Father unto thee, like as this man did here.

Secondarily, this prayer expresseth the faith that this poor man had in Christ, for he saith, “ Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst help me.” If thou wilt, saith he, noting him to be omnipotent and almighty. And in these words he expresseth the Divinity of Christ our Saviour, “ If thou wilt.” He believeth him to be able to help him; so we should do in our prayers. We must believe that he may and will help us, as it appeareth by this man, which was whole straightway. Also it appeareth, partly by the confession and faith of this man, and partly by the end of the matter, that he was made perfectly whole. So we shall be healed of our diseases, when we come unto him with such a faith as this man did, and specially if we call so earnestly upon him. But, O Lord, what slothfulness is in our hearts ! how slender a faith have we ! how unperfect and cold is our prayer ! So that it is no marvel that it is not heard of God. But we must always consider that God is able to save us, and believe undoubtedly that he will save us. So that when I am sick, as is said before, I may doubt whether God will deliver me from my sickness, or no : but I may not doubt of everlasting life.

Therefore if I be sick, I must pray as this man, *Domine, si vis*, “ Lord, if thou wilt ;” conditionally. For it may be, when I come out of my sickness, I shall become more wicked and ungodly ; which God knowing, keepeth me still in sickness ; and so it is better for me to be in sickness still, than whole.

So we may learn here to call upon God conditionally. As for our general salvation, which is the salvation of our souls, we may not doubt in that, nor call for it conditionally, but apprehend God by his promise, saying, Lord, thou hast promised that all that believe in thee shall be saved : Lord, for thy

mercy and promise sake, and for thy death and passion sake, take away my sin, wash me with the blood which thou hast shed upon the cross, and hast promised that all that believe shall be saved through thee. Now, Lord, for thy promise sake, help me ; I believe, O Lord, help my infirmity and increase my faith. As touching thy bodily health, put it to his good-will, and offer thyself unto him, saying, Lord, I am thy creature, thou hast given unto me soul and body, my body is sick now, when it pleaseth thee help me ; if not, give me grace to bear patiently this thy visitation : for in like manner didst thou visit thy holy martyrs which suffered great calamity, and they desired to be delivered, but thou deliveredest them not bodily, but yet thou savedst them after their death. So I trust thou wilt with me.

Now, how came it to pass that this leper had such a great faith and confidence in our Saviour ? Truly by hearing the word of God, for he had heard our Saviour say, " Come unto me, all ye that are laden and oppressed with miseries, and I will refresh you." This he had heard and believed, therefore he came boldly unto him, desiring help of him ; and so here is verified the saying of St. Paul, *Fides ex auditu*, " Faith cometh by hearing." (Rom. x.). The ordinary way to get faith is through the hearing the word of God : for the word of God is of such a power, that it entereth and pierceth the heart of man that heareth it earnestly ; as it doth well appear in this leper.

We read in the apostles, (Acts xiii.) that when St. Paul had made a long sermon at Antioch, there believed, saith the evangelist, " as many as were ordained to everlasting life :" with the which saying a great number of people have been offended, and have said, we perceive, that only those shall come to believe, and so to everlasting life, which are chosen of God unto it : therefore it is no matter whatsoever we do, for if we be chosen to everlasting life we shall have it ; and so they have opened a door unto themselves of all wickedness and carnal liberty, against the true meaning of the scripture. For if the most part be damned, the fault is not in God, but in themselves : for it is written, *Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri*, " God would that all men should be saved : (1 Tim. ii.) : but they themselves procure their own damna-

tion, and despise the passion of Christ by their own wicked and inordinate living. Here we may learn to keep us from all curious and dangerous questions ; when we hear that some be chosen and some be damned : let us have good hope that we shall be amongst the chosen, and live after this hope, that is, uprightly and godly, then thou shalt not be deceived. Think that God hath chosen those that believe in Christ, and that Christ is the book of life. If thou believest in him, then thou art written in the book of life, and shalt be saved. So we need not go about to trouble ourselves with curious questions of the predestination of God. But let us rather endeavour ourselves that we may be in Christ ; for when we be in him, then are we well, and then we may be sure that we are ordained to everlasting life.

But you will say, How shall I know that I am in the book of life ? How shall I try myself to be elect of God to everlasting life ? I answer, first we may know, that we may one time be in the book, and another time come out again ; as it appeared by David, which was written in the book of life. But when he sinned, he at that same time was out of the book of the favour of God, until he had repented and was sorry for his faults. So we may be in the book one time, and afterward, when we forget God and his word, and do wickedly, we come out of the book ; that is, out of Christ, which is the book. And in that book are written all believers. But I will tell you how you shall know when you are in the book ; and there are three special notes whereby ye may know the same. The first note is, if you know your sin, and feel your own wretchedness and filthiness, which is a great matter ; for the most part of people are so drowned in sin, that they no more feel the same, for sin grieveth them no more, according to the saying of Solomon, *Impius cum in medium peccatorum venit, contemnit* ; “ The ungodly man when he entereth into the midst of all sin and mischief, despiseth not the same ; he regardeth sin nothing at all, neither is he sorry for it.”

But as I said, the first note is, when you know your sins, and feel the same, then are they heavy unto you and grieve you. Then follows the second point, which is faith in Christ ; that is, when you believe most stedfastly and undoubtedly, that God our heavenly Father, through his Son will deliver

you from your sins. When you believe, I say, that the blood of our Saviour was shed for you, for the cleansing and putting away of your sins; and believing this most stedfastly with an unfeigned heart, then you have the second point. The third point is when you have an earnest desire to amendment and hatred against sin; study to live after God's will and commandments, as much as is possible for you to do, then have you the third point. And when you find these three points to be in you; namely, first, when you know your sin and be sorry for the same, and afterward believe to be saved through the passion of Jesus Christ: and thirdly, have an earnest desire to leave sin, and to fly the same; when you find these three things in your hearts, then you may be sure your names are written in the book. And you may be sure also, that you are elect and predestinate to everlasting life.

And again, when you see not your wickedness, and that sin grieveth you not, neither have you faith or hope in our Saviour, and therefore are careless and study not for amendment of life; then you are in a heavy case, and then you have cause to be sorry, and to lament your wretchedness: for truly you are not in the book of life, but the devil hath power over you as long as ye are in such a state. Here you see now how you shall try yourselves whether you be in the book of life or no, &c.

"Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." I learn here, that a few words spoken with faith, is better than a long bibble-babble. For right prayer standeth not in many words, or long babbling. Right prayer requireth the whole heart, for there is no greater thing in the world than right prayer. For prayer joined with faith, is the instrument wherewith we receive the benefits of God. Now when faith and prayer are joined together, it is impossible but God heareth it, for they must needs go together; for else it availeth nothing, except faith be joined with it, as Christ said unto the Centurion, "According to thy faith be it unto thee."

Here I might take occasion to entreat of prayer, if the time would serve. But to be short; three things may move us to pray. First, the commandment of God, which biddeth us to call upon him in the day of trouble: which commandment hath no less authority than this; "Thou shalt not kill." The self-

same God that saith, “Thou shalt not kill;” saith, “Thou shalt pray;” that is, thou shalt call upon me; whereby it appeareth, that we seem damnable when we intermit prayers.

The second cause that should move us, is the promise of God; for he promiseth us every where in the scripture, that he will hear us when we call upon him; which promise is not to be despised, for he saith, *Petite, et dabitur vobis*, “Ask, and it shall be given you; *Quicquid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo dabitur vobis*, that is, “Whatsoever you shall desire of my Father in my name, it shall be given unto you.” Such promises ought to allure us to pray without intermission.

The third cause is, the ensample of all the prophets, the saints of God that move us thereunto. For Moses, leading the people out of Egypt, after that he came at the Red sea, Pharaoh with his power followed at his back, and on both sides there were great hills, and before him the great sea. Then Moses, being in such danger, cried unto God, not speaking many words, but lifting up his heart unto God. Then God said unto him; “Why criest thou?” Here you see that Moses fighteth only with his prayer against his enemies, so should we fight against our enemies, the world, the flesh and the devil; with earnest and fervent prayer.

Likewise Joshua being in great distress, because his people had lost the victory, and his enemies had gotten the upper hand of him? What doth he? He crieth unto God. So doth David the king, as it appeareth throughout all the psalms, how fervent is he in prayer, giving us an ensample to follow him!

Thus much I thought good to speak of prayer, to move you thereunto; for I fear there are many of you that little regard the same. All such may learn here to be more diligent in prayer than they have been, especially considering that it is the commandment of God that we shall pray. Also we have great store of the promises of God that we shall be heard: also the ensample of good and godly men may move us thereunto: for if they found ease with their prayers, we shall find the like.

But now to return to the text, *Tetigit eum*, “Christ touched him.” Here appeareth the friendliness and kindness of our Saviour Christ: he is not so proud as the common sort of lords be, that none may speak with them.

No, no ; he is more friendly ; the poor man came to speak with him, and he forthwith came to him and spake with him ; wherefore all lords and men in authority need not be ashamed to learn here of our Saviour Christ, to be gentle and meek of spirit to the poor people.

It is also to be considered, that our Saviour did *against* the law outwardly ; for there was a law that no man should touch a leprous man, yet Christ touched this man. Where you must consider, that civil laws and statutes must be ordered by charity : for this act of Christ was *against* the words of the law, but not *against* the law itself. This law was made to that end that no man should be hurt or defiled by a leper ; but Christ touched this man, and was not hurt himself, but cleansed him that was hurt already. And here we learn rather to follow the mind of the law, than the rigour of the words ; and to bring charity with us, which is an interpreter of the law, for else we may miss by extremity. Further, what meant it that Christ touched him with his hand ? And how chanced it that his word and hand went together ? Because he would shew and declare unto us, the profitableness of his flesh, how it was a flesh by the which all we should be saved ; so that no salvation may be looked for, except by him, and except he be eaten and drunken.

Again, sometimes he healed by his word and divine power only, as it appeareth by the servant of the centurion ; to signify unto us, that it were not necessary for us to have him here bodily always ; and to assure us of his help without his bodily presence, he said, *Expedit vobis ut abeam*, “ It is good for you that I go from you.” (Matt. xxix.) And to signify his power, he used the authority of his word, both in his presence and absence : therefore we may be certain and sure, that he can and will help us with his power divine when we call upon him, as well absent as present ; for he is every where, and will be with us unto the end of the world, as he promised unto his apostles after his resurrection, saying ; “ Lo, I will be with you until the end of the world ;” which is the greatest comfort that may be unto a Christian heart, for it is a stay to all trouble.

We read further, that he sent him to the priest, and commandeth him that he should tell no man. What meant he by

this? he would have him not to be his own judge. There was a law that the leprosy should be examined by the priest, and that the priest should give the sentence whether the leper were clean or unclean. Now Christ would not have this man to be his own judge, and to pronounce himself clean; but biddeth him to go to the ordinary. And this he did for two considerations: The first was to convince the Jews with their own wickedness, in that they would not believe in him, but despised and maliced him. Therefore he sent this man unto them which had been infected with leprosy, so that when they pronounced him clean, they might see their own wickedness and obstinacy, which would not believe, &c. The second cause was, for the observation of the law, and for that he would give none occasion to carnal liberty. He would have every man in his order, as well the magistrates as the subjects; where we may learn to follow his ensample, to keep all good laws and orders, and the rather, for that Christ himself kept them.

Here our papists make ado with their auricular confession, proving the same by this place. For they say Christ sent this man unto the priest to fetch there his absolution; and therefore we must go also unto the priest, and after confession, receive of him absolution of all our sins. But yet we must take heed, say they, that we forget nothing: for all those sins that are forgotten, may not be forgiven. And so they bind the consciences of men, persuading them that when their sins were all numbered and confessed, it was well. And hereby, they took clean away the passion of Christ. For they made this numbering of sins to be a merit; and so they came to all the secrets that were in men's hearts: so, that no emperor or king could say or do, nor think any thing in his heart, but they knew it; and so applied all the purposes and intents of princes to their own commodities: and this was the fruit of their auricular confession. But to speak of right and true confession, I would to God it were kept in England, for it is a good thing. And those which find themselves grieved in conscience might go to a learned man, and there fetch of him comfort of the word of God, and so come to a quiet conscience; which is better and more to be regarded than all the

riches of the world. And sure it grieveth me much that such confessions are not kept in England, &c.

Now to make an end; you have heard in this gospel of divers things which I will not rehearse. But I would have you to keep in remembrance the great faith that this man had in our Saviour, which faith restored him to his health again, and learn by him to believe as he did, that our Saviour will restore unto us the health of soul and body. Also note here, the great love that our Saviour bare unto this man, stedfastly believing that he will be like loving unto thee when thou call-est upon him with earnest prayer. For prayer, as I told you, is all together : for prayer with faith goeth through the clouds. But it is a great matter to pray, it is *ars artium*, that is, an art above all arts. Let us therefore give ourselves to prayer and godly living, so that his name may be glorified in us, both now and ever. *Amen.*

A SERMON,

PREACHED ON

THE FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY, 1553.

BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

MATTHEW viii. 23, 24, 25, 26.

Et cum esset ingressus narem, sequuti sunt cum discipuli, &c.

And when he was entered into a ship, his disciples followed him. And behold there arose a tempest in the sea, insomuch that the ship was covered with the waves; but he was asleep. And his disciples came to him, and awoke him, saying, Lord, save us, we perish. And he saith unto them, Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith. Then he arose, and rebuked the wind and the sea: and there was a great calm.

HERE in this gospel we have a notable story, and a wonderful miracle which our Saviour did, being with his disciples upon the sea; which story is written for our doctrine and instruction, that we may comfort ourselves withal, when we are in like trouble in the tempests of this world. For we may learn here many good things, if we consider the story itself, and the circumstance thereof. The Evangelist saith that our Saviour, accompanied with his disciples, went into a ship, where he laid himself upon a pillow and slept; which sleep signified his very manhood, as you shall hear afterward. Now whilst he lay thus asleep, lo there arose suddenly so great a tempest, that they thought they should all have perished out of hand; such a fearful weather lighted upon them. The disciples being sore astonished at this horrible weather, wist not what to do. At the last they remembering themselves, ran to our Saviour which lay there asleep, crying, "Lord, we perish:" or, else the Evangelist Mark saith, "Lord, carest thou not that we perish?" He being awaked, first rebuked them because of their unbelief; after that he rebuked the wind, and commanded the tempest to leave off and cease.

The disciples seeing before the horrible tempest, and now

the sudden calmness made through his word, marvelled much ; for they never had seen before such things. They had never heard that any man might or had power to rule the sea and the wind before this time ; and therefore they were astonished at it ; and every one of them said, “ O what a man is this, which ruleth with his word the sea, and the wind.” This is the sum of this gospel, which containeth many good things for our instruction, learning, and comfort.

First, we may learn here, that the ship signified the congregation of Christ and his church. The disciples being in the ship are preserved through Christ ; so all those which are in the church of Christ shall be saved and preserved by him. The others, which are without this church, shall be damned and perish.

Learn here also by the ensample of the disciples of Christ two things. The first, not to presume too much ; that is to say, not to stand in thine own conceit, thinking thyself to be perfect in faith. Secondly, not to despair because of thy imperfections. The disciples thought themselves perfect and strong in faith, before they came into this tempest ; but what doth our Saviour ? perceiving their presumptions, he sendeth a tempest to bring them to the knowledge of themselves ; and then, they feeling the weakness of their faith, ran to our Saviour crying for help ; whereby every man may learn, not to think too much of himself. And when he feeleth himself very weak, he may not despair, but run to Christ, like as these disciples did ; which, although their heart was weak and feeble, yet were they preserved.

Moreover, we learn here that our Saviour Christ is both very God and very man. His godhead appeared in that the wind and waters obeyed him, and reformed themselves according to his word. For what king or emperor is in the whole world, that can or may command the wind or seas ? None at all : yea, if the whole world should be set together with all their power and wits, they should not be able to do any such thing. Therefore learn here to know the majesty of Christ, his power and stay, and to believe him to be very God. Secondly, learn here to know his manhood : for the Evangelist saith, “ He slept ;” which signifieth his very manhood : and that all things were in him that are in us, except sin. And

that he can have compassion with us, for that he himself hath been in all miseries and troubles as well as we, as St. Paul testifieth to the Romans. He slept here for weariness, he eateth, he drinketh, he wept, and in him are all these infirmities, and chiefly for two causes: first, to signify unto us his very manhood: secondly, to comfort us with the example; when we are in trouble and miseries we shall think and know that our Saviour Christ will have compassion over us, for he himself hath tasted of all trouble, and therefore he will be the more inclined to help and assist us with his Holy Spirit.

Also we may note here, that the disciples of our Saviour have passed many a time before upon the water, and yet they were never so troubled, nor in such danger. What meaneth this, that they are in trouble now, when our Saviour is with them, and never before when they were not with him? For it was no dangerous water, it was but a little pond*: what meaneth it then that this marvellous tempest so suddenly arose? It signifieth that all those that believe in Christ, and take his part, and study to live after his will and commandment, and forsake the world and all wickedness; all such, I say, must have much trouble and affliction; for it is the will of God, that those which seek to be saved, shall be proved and tried through the fire of tribulation; as it appeareth here by the disciples, who were never before in such trouble and danger; for they had never good luck, as the most part of these worldlings commonly have, for all things go well with them, and after their mind: but as soon as they receive Christ into their ship, that is as soon as they believe in him, and receive his word, they shall have trouble and affliction; whereof we have a great number of examples in the scriptures, which plainly teach us, not to seek good cheer by the gospel in this world, but rather misery and adversity. But the most part of gospellers are contrary minded; for they seek good cheer and promotions through the gospel, which is an horrible abuse of God's most holy word.

Moses, that excellent prophet of God, as long as he was in Pharaoh's house, he was well; he had all things after his mind: but as soon as God called him to be his minister, and to do him service all things were turned; that is, all sweet things were

* The sea of Galilee being no more than a lake, may be called a pond when compared with the Mediterranean or the ocean.

made sour, all the great cheer was gone ; so that he was compelled by necessity to keep sheep, where before he was a prince, and an inheritor of the crown of Egypt. Here you see how God doth exercise his which appertain to everlasting life.

Also St. Paul, as long as he was without Christ, was in great authority and estimation among the Jews, insomuch as he had letters of authority to afflict and put in prison all those which held of Christ : but after that he once came to Christ what had he ? Afflictions and miseries plenty, as it appeareth through all the Acts of the Apostles, and his Epistles ; where also it appeareth that he had a most irksome and painful life; namely, as soon as he came to the knowledge of Christ and his gospel. Also the Israelites as long as they were in Egypt, serving for the most part false gods, they wanted neither meat nor drink : but as soon as they came again to the knowledge of God, they were in great miseries, lacking all manner of necessaries : insomuch that they say, as the prophet reporteth, “ We will turn again to the queen of heaven,” &c.

Now to come to our time : we see daily that they that take part with Christ and his gospel, are most commonly nothing regarded in this world. The world and they cannot agree together, for they love godliness, and the other love evil ; which two can never be set together. But there are very few, God knows, that take part with Christ ; for every man will rather apply himself after the world, and have quietness, and a merry life, than to forsake the same, and to have trouble with Christ and his flock ; but what reward they shall have, it will appear in the end.

A man may marvel how God can suffer his to be so punished and afflicted in this world ; and again, the wicked to have ever the upper hand, and to be merry in this world ? Because God and the devil are two Lords, most repugnant in conditions. For God is good, just, merciful and liberal, and kind towards his, offering unto them which live after his will, life everlasting. But the devil is a most wicked minister, unmerciful and cruel, rewarding his servants with everlasting pain and damnation. Now these Lords have their servants. God suffereth his to be much afflicted and plagued, for these two causes. The first is, though they be justified before God through the passion of our Saviour, yet remaineth a great many sins and imperfections

within them. Now to put in remembrance how abominable a thing sin is in the face of God, he sendeth unto them calamities and miseries, to teach them to beware of sin, and to live upright and holy. Secondly, to teach them to pray and call upon God. And thirdly, to teach us to know ourselves. For when we be in prosperity and wealth, we think we have faith, and that all things are safe: but when there cometh affliction then our imperfection appeareth; therefore God sendeth affliction to verify the saying of St. Peter, *Judicium Dei, à domo Dei incipit*, "The judgment of God beginneth at the house of God:" (1 Pet. iv.) As for the wicked, for the most part, he letteth them alone until they come to their death-bed, and then they shall find all their wickedness, and suffer punishment world without end.

By the afflictions of the household of God appeareth most plainly the power and strength of God: for Christ confoundeth the devil with his weak members, as it appeareth daily, how God giveth unto such as have his Spirit, power to suffer death for his word's sake; and so he confoundeth the devil and all his members, as it appeareth in John Baptist and Christ himself: For the devil thought that Christ, after he hanged upon the cross, had been destroyed and clean overcome; but it was clean contrary.

Thus you see the causes wherefore God suffereth his to be in tribulation and affliction. Now when we have affliction, we must pray unto him to take away the same from us, but this prayer must be put conditionally, when it shall please him; as we have ensample of David the king, which when he was driven out of his kingdom by Absalom his son, he said, *Si Dominus volet, reducet me*, "If the Lord willetteth, let me return." Therefore then being in sickness, follow the ensample of David; call upon him for deliverance conditionally: but above all things, beware of murmuring and rebelling against God; for he will have us obedient to his will and pleasure. The best service that thou canst do, is to take the cross patiently, which God hath laid upon thee. Some men, when they be sick, say, it grieveth my heart that I do spend my time so idly; for if I were whole I might do much good. These are much deceived, for they cannot spend their time better, than when they suffer the cross that God hath laid upon them, and bear the same

willingly and obediently. For as I said before, it is the best service that we can do to God, when we bear our afflictions well and godly, yet we may pray that he will be merciful unto us, and lay no more upon us than we are able to bear, according to his promises.

Also note here, in necessity whither went the disciples? even to Christ being asleep. We think that he is asleep, if he hear us not so soon as we call upon him; but for all that he sleepeth not: *Non dormitabit, neque dormiet, qui custodit Israel,* "He that keepeth Israel, neither slumbereth nor sleepeth." He is called a helper in due time. But here learn by the ensample of his disciples, whither thou shalt run in thy distress, namely, to Christ; for he is the right helper, and not unto his saints; for when I call upon any creature, I commit most abominable idolatry. For this is one apparent and great argument to make Christ God, if we call upon him as St. Stephen did; who said, *Domine Jesu, suscipe spiritum meum,* "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit:" (Acts vii.) for invocation declareth an omnipotency. So that when I call upon saints I make them omnipotent, and so I make them gods: for omnipotency pertaineth properly and principally only to God. And therefore beware that thou call upon no creature, but upon God only: for if you do the contrary, you do against God most wickedly.

Here is also to be noted, that the very saints of God have but little faith, they have little, but yet they have some; they are not altogether without faith, for they that are altogether without faith are in an evil case; for they are and remain in the kingdom and domination of the devil. The disciples had but a little faith yet they go and awaken Christ, and desire his help. And here note also that he is not angry for wakening of him, but he blamed them for their unbelief; which is a very comfortable doctrine for us, that when we feel ourselves weak in faith we shall not despair, but rather run to him, for he will increase our faith. Some think themselves to have very much faith, when they have none at all. And again, some think themselves to have none, when they have some; therefore it is needful for us to pray without intermission, *Domine, adauge nobis fidem,* "Lord, increase our faith;" *adjuva incredulitatem meam,* "O Lord, help my unbelief." (Luke xvii.)

Here learn by the ensample of our Saviour, not to flatter any body when they do naughtily and wickedly : for Christ perceiving his disciples to be unbelievers, flattered them not, but told them plainly, and rebuked them for their faults. Also we may here learn not to be too hasty with our neighbours when they do fall, but to bear with them like as our Saviour did bear with his disciples. He thrusteth them not away because of their unbelief ; so we may not give over our neighbour when he is fallen, for he may rise again.

Now to make an end ; here learn by the ensample of these disciples to run to Christ when thou art in tribulation. Seek help at his hand, and if thou have not a perfect faith, yet despair not, for he is merciful, loving, and kind unto all that call upon him ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, both now and ever, world without end.
Amen.

A SERMON

PREACHED ON

THE FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER THE EPIPHANY, 1552,

BY MASTER HUGH LATIMER.

MATTHEW xiii. 24—30.

Simile factum est regnum celorum homini qui seminat bonum semen in agro suo ; cum autem dormirent homines, venit inimicus ejus, et super seminavit, &c.

The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field : but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way.

THIS is a parable or similitude wherein our Saviour compared the kingdom of God, that is, the preaching of his word, wherein consisteth the salvation of mankind, unto an husbandman that soweth good seed in his field.

But before we come unto the matter, you shall first learn to understand what is this word parable, which is a Greek word, and used in the Latin and English tongue : *Parabola, est rerum dissimilium comparatio* ; that is to say, " A parable is a comparison of two things that are unlike outwardly ;" but in effect they signify but one thing, for they do appertain to one end, as in this place, Christ compared the word of God unto a sower : which two things are unlike, but yet they teach one thing ; for like as the seed is sown in the earth, so is the word of God sown in our hearts : and thus much of this word parable.

The sum of this gospel is, first he speaketh of a husbandman that soweth good seed : after that he maketh mention of an enemy that soweth evil seed. And these two manner of seeds, that is, the husbandman's seed that was good, and the enemy's seed which was naught, came up both together : so that the enemy was as busy as the other in sowing his evil seed. And while he was busy in sowing it, it was unknown. And at

the first springing up it seemeth all to be good seed, but at the length the servant of the husbandman perceived the evil seed sown amongst the good, therefore he came and told his master, shewing him all the matter, and required leave to gather the evil seed from amongst the other. The husbandman himself said, *Inimicus homo hoc fecit*, "Our enemy hath done this. But for all that, let it alone until the harvest, and then will I separate the good from the evil." This is the sum of this gospel.

First note that he saith, *Dormientibus hominibus*, "When every body was asleep, then he came and sowed his seed." Who are these sleepers? The bishops and prelates, the slothful and careless curates and ministers; they with their negligence give the devil leave to sow his; for they sow not their seed; that is, they preach not the word of God, they instruct not the people with wholesome doctrine, and so they give place to the devil to sow his seed. For when the devil cometh, and findeth the heart of man not weaponed nor garnished with the word of God, he forthwith possesseth the same, and so getteth victory through the slothfulness of the spirituality, which they shall one day grievously repent. For the whole scripture, that is to say, both the old and new testament, is full of threatenings of such negligent and slothful pastors, and they shall make an heavy and grievous account one day, when no excuse shall serve, but extreme punishment shall follow, for a reward of their slothfulness.

This gospel giveth occasion to speak of many things: for our Saviour himself expoundeth this parable unto his disciples after the people were gone from him, and that he was come into the house. For the disciples were not so bold as to ask him of the understanding of this parable in the presence of the people; whereby we may learn good manners, to use in every thing a good and convenient time. Also we may here learn to search and inquire earnestly, and with great diligence, for the true understanding of God's word. And when you hear a sermon and are in doubt of something, inquire for it, and be desirous to learn; for it is written, *Omnia habenti dabit*, "Whosoever hath, unto him shall be given; *et abundabit*, and he shall have abundance." (Matt. xiii.) What meaneth this saying? When we hear the word of God, and have tasted

somewhat thereof, and are afterwards desirous to go forward more and more, then shall we have further knowledge ; for God will give us his grace to come to further understanding. And so the saying of our Saviour shall be fulfilled in us.

Now when our Saviour had heard the request of his disciples, he performeth their desire, and beginneth to expound unto them the parable, saying, " I am he that soweth good seed :" *Inimicus homo*, that is " the adversary, the devil, is he who soweth evil seed." Here our Saviour, good people, maketh known that he goeth about to do us good, but the devil doth the clean contrary, and he seeketh to spoil and destroy us with his filthy and naughty seed of false doctrine. The field here is the whole world. The harvest is the end of the world. The reapers are the angels of God, which are his servants : for like as every lord or master hath his servants to wait upon him, and to do his commandments, so the angels of God wait upon him to do his commandments. The angels at the time of the harvest shall gather first, *offendicula*, that is, all such as have been evil and given occasion of wickedness, and go forward in the same without repentance or amendment of their lives. All such, I say, shall be gathered together and cast in " *caminum ignis*," into the chimney of fire, " where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." For in the end of this wicked world, all such as have lived in the delectations and pleasures of the same, and have not foughten with the lusts and pleasures of their flesh, but are proud and stubborn, or bear hatred and malice unto their neighbour, or be covetous persons, also all naughty servants that do not their duties, and all those that use falsehood in buying and selling, and care not for their neighbours, but sell unto them false wares, or otherwise deceive them, all these are called *offendicula mundi*, " the offenders of this world," and all such shall be cast into the chimney where shall be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

In like manner, all idle persons that will not work for their living, but go about loitering and be chargeable unto others; and also drunken persons that abuse the benefits of God in dishonouring themselves, so that they lose the use of reason, and their natural wits wherewith God hath endued them, and make themselves like swine and beasts ; also those which break wedlock, and despise matrimony, that is instituted of God

himself: hereunto add all swearers, all usurers, all liars, and deceivers: all these are called the seed of the devil; and so they are the devil's creatures through their own wickedness.

But yet it is true that wicked men have their souls and bodies of God, for he is their Creator and Maker: but they themselves, in forsaking God and his laws, and following the devil and his instructions, make themselves members of the devil, and become his seed; therefore they shall be cast out in the last day into everlasting fire, when the trumpet shall blow, and the angels shall come and gather all "*offendicula*" those that offend from amongst the elect of God.

The form of judgment shall be in this wise: Christ our Saviour at the day of judgment, being appointed of God shall come down with great triumph and honour, accompanied with all his angels and saints that departed in faith out of this world before times: they shall come with him now, and all the elect shall be gathered to him, and there they shall see the judgment; but they themselves shall not be judged, but shall be like as judges with him. After that the elect are separated from the wicked, he shall give a most horrible and dreadful sentence unto the wicked, commanding his angels to cast them into everlasting fire, where they shall have such torments as no tongue can express.

Therefore our Saviour, desirous to set out the pains of hell unto us, and to make us afraid thereof, calleth it fire, yea, a burning and unquenchable fire. For like as there is no pain so grievous to a man as is fire, so the pains of hell passeth all the pains that may be imagined of any man. There shall be sobbing and sighing, weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth, which are the tokens of unspeakable pains and griefs that shall come upon those that die in a state of damnation. For you must understand that there are but two places appointed of Almighty God, for all mankind, that is, heaven and hell. And in what state soever a man dieth in, in the same he shall rise again, for there shall be no alteration or change. Those which die repentantly and are sorry for their sins, cry God mercy, be ashamed of their own wickedness, and believe with all their hearts that God will be merciful unto them through the passion of our Saviour Christ, these which die in such a faith, shall come into everlasting life and felicity,

and shall also rise in the last day in a state of salvation. For look, as you die, so shall you arise. Whosoever departeth out of this world without a repentant heart, and hath been a malicious and envious man, and a hater of the word of God, and so continueth and will not repent, and be sorry, and call upon God with a good faith, or hath no faith at all; that man shall come to everlasting damnation; and so he shall arise again at the last day: for there is nothing that can help him out of his damnation, or hinder him of his salvation.

For when a man dieth without faith in Christ, all the masses in the whole world are not able to relieve him; and so to conclude, all the travails that we have had in time past by seeking of remedy by purgatory, and all the great costs and expenses that may be bestowed upon any soul lying in the state of damnation, it can avail nothing, neither can it do any good. For as I said before, the judgments of God are immutable, that is, as you die, so shall you rise. If thou die in the state of salvation, thou shalt rise so again, and receive thy body, and remain in salvation. Again, if thou die in damnation, thou shalt rise in the same estate, and receive thy body, and return again to the same estate, and be punished world without end, with unspeakable pains and torments. For our natural fire, in comparison to hell-fire, is like a fire painted on a wall, for that shall be so extreme, that no man is able to express the terrible horror and grief thereof.

O what a pitiful thing is it, that man will not consider this, and leave the sin and pleasure of this world, and live godly; but is so blind and mad, that he will rather have a momentary, and a very short and small pleasure, than hearken to the will and pleasure of almighty God: that might avoid everlasting pain and wo, and give unto him everlasting felicity! for that a great many of us are damned, the fault is not in God, for *Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri*, “God would have all men be saved.” But the fault is in ourselves, and in our own madness, that had rather have damnation than salvation. Therefore, good people, consider these terrible pains in your minds, which are prepared for the wicked and ungodly, avoid all wickedness and sin: set before your eyes the wonderful joy and felicity, and the innumerable treasures which God hath laid up for you that fear and

love him, and live after his will and commandments ; for no tongue can express, no eye hath seen, no heart can comprehend, nor conceive the great felicity that God hath prepared for his elect and chosen, as St. Paul witnesseth. Consider, therefore, I say, these most excellent treasures and endeavour yourselves to obtain the fruition of the same. Continue not, neither abide or wallow too long in your sins, like as a swine lieth in the mire : make no delay to repent your sin, and to amend your life, for you are not so sure to have repentance in the end. It is a common saying, *Penitentia sera raro vera*, “ late repentance is seldom sincere.” Therefore consider this thing with yourself betimes, and study to amend your life : for what availeth it to have all the pleasures of the world for awhile, and after that to have everlasting pain and infelicity ?

Therefore let every one go into his own conscience when he findeth himself unready : for all such as through the goodness of God have received faith, and then wrestling with sin, consent not unto it, but are sorry for it when they fall, and do not abide nor dwell in the same, but riseup again forthwith, and call for forgiveness thereof, through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ ; all such are called just : that is to say, all that die with a repentant heart, and are sorry that they have sinned, and are minded if God give them longer time to live, to amend all faults, and lead a new life ; then are they just ; but not through their own merits or good works. For if God should enter into judgment with us, none are able to stand before his face ; neither may any of his saints be found just, neither St. John Baptist, St. Peter, nor St. Paul, nor the mother of our Saviour Christ herself is not just, if she should be judged after the rigour of the law. For all are and must be justified by the justification of our Saviour Christ, and so we must be justified, and not by our own well-doings, but our justice standeth in this, that our unrighteousness is forgiven us through the righteousness of Christ, for if we believe in him, then are we made righteous. For he fulfilled the law, and afterward granted the same to be ours, if we believe that his fulfilling is our fulfilling ; for the Apostle Saint Paul saith, *Qui proprio filio non pepercit*, “ He hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him up for us ; and how then may it be, but we should have all things with him ?”

Therefore it must needs follow, that when he gave us his only Son, he gave us also his righteousness, and his fulfilling of the law. So that we are justified by God's free gift, and not of ourselves, nor by our merits: but the righteousness of Christ is accounted to be our righteousness, and through the same we obtain everlasting life, and not through our own doings: for as I said before, if God should enter into judgment with us, we should be damned.

Therefore take heed and be not proud, and be humble and low, and trust not too much in yourselves; but put your only trust in Christ our Saviour. And yet you may not utterly set aside the doing of good works: but specially look that you have always oil in readiness for your lamps, or else you may not come to the wedding, but shall be shut out, and thrust into everlasting darkness. This oil is faith in Christ, which if you lack, then all things are unsavoury before the face of God: but a great many people are much deceived, for they think themselves to have faith when indeed they have it not. Some peradventure will say, How shall I know whether I have faith or not? Truly thou shalt find this in thee, if thou have no mind to leave sin, then sin grieveth thee not, but art content to go forward in the same, and thou delightest in it, and hatest it not, neither feelest thou what sin is: when thou art in such a case, then thou hast no faith, and therefore like to perish everlasting. For that man that is sore sick, and yet feeleth not his sickness, he is in great danger, for he hath lost all his senses: so that man which hath gone so far in sin, that he feeleth his sin no more, is like to be damned, for he is without faith.

Again, that man is in good case, that can be content to fight and strive with sin, and to withstand the devil, and his temptations, and calleth for the help of God, and believeth that God will help him, and make him strong to fight. That man shall not be overcome by the devil. And whosoever feeleth this in his heart, and so wrestleth with sin, may be sure that he hath faith, and is in the favour of God.

But if thou wilt have a trial of thy faith, then do this; examine thyself toward thine enemy; he doth thee harm, he slandereth thee, or taketh away thy living from thee; how shalt thou now use thyself towards such a man? If thou canst

find in thy heart to pray for him, to love him with all thine heart, and forgive him with a good will all that he hath sinned against thee : if thou canst find this readiness in thy heart, then thou art one of those which hath faith, if thou wouldest him to be saved as well as thyself. And if thou canst do this thou mayest argue that thy sin is forgiven thee, and that thou art none of those that shall be cast out, but shall be received and placed among the number of the godly, and shall enjoy with them everlasting life. For St. Paul saith, that " Those that are just," that is, those that are justified by faith, and exercise faith in their living and conversation, *fulgebunt tanquam sol*, " They shall shine like unto the sun in the kingdom of God ;" that is to say, they shall be in exceeding great honour and glory. For like as the sun exceedeth in brightness all other creatures of God, and is beautiful in the eyes of every man ; so shall all the faithful be beautiful and endued with honour and glory : although in this world they be but outcasts, and accounted as *Expurgamenta mundi*, " The dross and filth of the world ;" but in the other world, when the angels shall gather together the wicked, and cast them into the fire, then shall the elect shine as the sun in the kingdom of God. For no man can express the honour and glory that they shall have, which will be content to suffer all things for God's sake, and to reform themselves after his will ; or are content to be told of their faults, and glad to amend the same, and humble themselves under the mighty hand of God.

Also the householder said unto his servants, " Let them alone until harvest." Here you may learn that the preachers and ministers of the word of God, have not authority to compel the people with violence to goodness, though they be wicked. But only with the word of God they shall admonish them, not to pull the wicked out by the throat ; for that is not their duty. All things must be done according as God hath appointed. God hath appointed the magistrates to punish the wicked ; for so he saith, *Auferes malum ē medio populi*, " Thou shalt take away the evil from amongst the people," *Non misereris ejus*, " Thou shalt have no pity of him." If he be a thief, an adulterer, or an whoremonger, away with him. But when our Saviour saith, " Let them grow ;" he speaketh not of the civil magistrates,

for it is their duty to pull them out ; but he signifieth that there will be such wickedness for all the magistrates, and teacheth that the ecclesiastical power is ordained, not to pull out the wicked with the sword, but only to admonish them with the word of God, which is called, *gladius spiritus*, that is “ The sword of the Spirit.” So did John Baptist ; saying, *Quis vobis subministravit ut fugiretis a venturā irā ?* “ Who hath taught you to flee from the wrath of God that is at hand ?”

So did Peter in the Acts ; *Quem vos crucifixistis*, “ Whom you have crucified,” he said unto the Jews : what followeth ? *compuncti corde* “ They were pricked in their hearts ;” contrition and repentance followed by and by as soon as the word was preached unto them. Therefore they said, “ Brethren, what shall we do ? How shall we be made clean from our sins, that we may be saved ? Then he sendeth them to Christ. So that it appeareth in this gospel, and by these ensamples, that the preacher hath none other sword, but the sword of the word of God : with that sword he may strike them. He may rebuke their wicked living, and further he ought not to go. But kings and magistrates, they have power to punish with the sword the obstinate and vicious liver, and to put them to due punishment.

Now to make an end with this one lesson, which is, if thou dwellest in a town where are some wicked men that will not be reformed, nor in any wise will amend their lives, as there are commonly in every town some ; run not thou therefore out of the town, but tarry there still, and exercise thy patience amongst them, exhorting them, whensoever occasion serveth, to amendment. And do not as the fondness of the monstery first did, for they at the first made so great account of the holiness of their good life, that they could not be content to live and abide in cities and towns where sinners and wicked doers were, but thought to amend the matter, and therefore ran out into the wilderness, where they fell into great inconveniences. For some despised the communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, and so fell into other errors : so God punished them for their foolishness and uncharitableness. We are born into this world, not for our own sakes only, but for every christian’s sake. They forgetting this commandment of love and charity, ran away from their neighbours, like

beasts and wild horses, that cannot abide the company of men. So the anabaptists in our time, following their ensample, segregated themselves from the company of other men, and therefore God gave them *reprobum sensum*, that is a pervert judgment. Therefore when thou dwellest in any evil town or parish, follow not the ensample of the monks or anabaptists; but remember that Lot, dwelling in the midst of the Sodomites, was nevertheless preserved from the wrath of God, and such will preserve them in the midst of the wicked. But for all that, thou must not flatter them in their evil doings and naughty livings, but rebuke their sins and wickedness, and in no wise consent unto them. Then it will be well with thee here in this world, and in the world to come thou shalt have life everlasting: which grant both to you and me, God the Father, the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

T H E S E R M O N
O F
M A S T E R H U G H L A T I M E R ,
P R E A C H E D O N
T H E S U N D A Y C A L L E D S E P T U A G E S I M A , 1 5 5 2 .

M A T T H E W x x . 1 .

Simile est regnum celorum patrifamilias, &c.

The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that was an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard.

THIS parable is written by the evangelist Matthew in the twentieth chapter, and is very dark and hard to be understood ; yea, there is no harder piece of scripture written by any evangelist. Therefore it may well be called hard meat ; not meat for mowers nor ignorant people, which be not exercised in the word of God. And yet there is none other diversity in this scripture than is in any other. For though many scriptures have diverse expositions (as is well to be allowed of, so long as they keep them in the tenor of the Catholic faith), yet they pertain all to one end and effect, and they be all alike. Therefore although this parable be harder to understand than the other at the first hearing or reading, yet when we shall well advise and consider the same, we shall find it agreeable unto all the other.

Now to come to the matter ; there are some learned men which apply this parable unto the ages of man. For a man-child, when he is born, first he is a child ; afterward he becometh a lad ; then a young man ; and after that a perfect man ; and in process of time he becometh an old man ; and at length a cripple and impotent.

Some there be that apply it to the ages of the world, as from Adam to Noah was the first hour ; from Noah to Abraham ;

from Abraham to David ; from David to Christ ; from Christ, to the end of the world.

Some there are which would have an allegory of it ; but all agree in this point, namely, that it is not requisite in a parable to expound every word of the same. For every parable hath "*certum statum*" a certain scope, to the which we must have a respect, and not go about to set all words together, or make a gloss for the same : for it is enough for us when we have the meaning of the principal scope, and more needeth not.

Now to the principal cause, and to the which our Saviour hath had a respect in this parable, and that is, he will teach us hereby that all christian people are equal in all things appertaining to the kingdom of Christ. So that we have one Christ, one Redeemer, one baptism, and one gospel, one supper of the Lord, and one kingdom of heaven. So that the poorest man and most miserable that is in the world, may call God his Father, and Christ his Redeemer, as well as the greatest king or emperor in the world. And this is the scope of this parable, wherein Christ teacheth us this equality. And if this now were considered, the whole parable will be easily and soon understood.

Here is declared unto us that some laboured the whole day, which are hired for a penny, that is of our money, ten pence : for like as we have a piece of money which we call a shilling, and is in value twelve pence, so the Jews had a piece that they called *denarium*, and that was in value ten of our pence. The first company wrought twelve hours, and the other wrought some nine hours, some six hours, and some three hours, and some but one hour. Now when evening was come, and the time of payment drew on, the householder said to his steward, Go, and give every man alike, and begin at those that came last. And when the other that came early in the morning perceived that they should have no more than those that had wrought but one hour, they murmured against the householder, saying, " Shall they which have laboured but one hour, have as much as we that have wrought the whole day ? " The householder, perceiving their malicious mind, saith to one of them, " Friend, wherefore grudgeth thou ? is it not lawful for me to do with mine own what pleaseth me ? Have I not given thee what I promised thee ? Content thy-

self therefore, and go thy way, for it hath pleased me to give unto this man which hath wrought but one hour as much as unto thee." This is the sum of this parable, which he concludeth with this sentence, *Primi erunt novissimi et novissimi primi*, "The first shall be the last, and the last first."

First, consider who are these murmurers? The merit-mongers, which esteem their own works so much, that they think heaven scant sufficient to recompense their good deeds; namely, for putting themselves to pain with saying of our lady's psalter, and gadding on pilgrimage, and such like trifles. These are the murmurers, for they think themselves holier than all the world; and therefore worthy to receive a greater reward than all other men. But such men are much deceived and are in a false opinion, and if they abide and continue therein, it shall bring them to the fire of hell. For man's salvation cannot be gotten by any work: because the scripture saith, *Vita æterna donum Dei*, "Life everlasting is the gift of God." (Acts xvii.) True it is, that God requireth good works of us, and commandeth us to avoid all wickedness. But for all that we may not do our good works to the end to get heaven withal; but rather to shew ourselves thankful for that which Christ hath done for us, who with his passion hath opened heaven to all believers, that is, to all those that put their hope and trust, not in their deeds, but in his death and passion, and study to live well and godly; and yet not to make merits of their own works, as though they should have everlasting life for them; as our monks and friars, and all our religious persons were wont to do, and therefore may rightly be called murmurers; for they had so great store of merits, that they sold some of them unto other men. And many men spent a great part of their substance to buy their merits, and to be a brother of their houses, or to obtain one of their coats or cowls to be buried in.

But there is a great difference between the judgment of God, and the judgment of this world. They in this world were accounted most holy above all men, and so most worthy to be *primi*; but before God they shall be *novissimi*, when their hypocrisy and wickedness shall be opened. And thus much I thought to say of murmurers.

Now I will go about to apply all the parts of this parable: for, as I said before, it is enough for us if we know the chief point and scope of the parable, which is, that there shall be one equality in all the things that appertain to Christ: insomuch, that the ruler of this realm hath no better a God, no better sacraments, and no better a gospel, than the poorest in this world; yea, the poorest man hath as good right to Christ and his benefits, as the greatest man in this world.

This is comfortable to every one, and specially to such as are in miseries, poverty, or other calamities: which, if it were well considered, we should not be so desirous to come aloft, and to get riches, honour and dignities in this world, as we now are, nor yet so malicious one against another as we be. For we would ever make this reckoning with ourselves, each man in his vocation: the servant would think thus with himself: I am a servant poor and miserable, and must live after the pleasure of my master, I may not have my free will; but what then? I am sure that I have as good a God as my master hath; and I am sure that my service and business pleaseth God as much (when I do it with a good faith) as the preachers and curates, in preaching or saying of service. For we must understand that God esteemeth not the diversity of the works, but he hath respect unto the faith: for a poor man which doth his business in faith, is as acceptable unto God, and hath as good right to the death and merits of Christ, as the greatest man in the world.

So go through all estates, whosoever applieth his business with faith; considering that God willett him so to do, surely the same is most beloved of God. If this were well considered and printed in our hearts, all ambition and desire of promotions, all covetousness, and other vices, would depart out of our hearts. For it is the greatest comfort that may be unto the poor people (specially such as are nothing regarded in this world), if they consider that God loveth them as well as the richest in the world, it must needs be a great comfort unto them.

But there be some that say, that this sentence *primi et novissimi*, "the first shall be last," is the very substance of the parable. And here you shall understand, that our Saviour Christ

took occasion to put forth this parable, when there came a young man demanding of him, in the nineteenth chapter of the Evangelist, saying, “ What shall I do to come to everlasting life ? ” Our Saviour, after he had taught him the commandments of God, bad him “ Go, and sell all that he had, and give to the poor ; and come and follow him.” He hearing this, went away heavily, for his heart was cold. And then our Saviour spake very terribly against rich men, saying, “ It is more easy for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.” A camel, *est funis nauticus*, is, a great cable of a ship, which is more likelier than a beast that is called a camel : The disciples hearing this, said, “ Who then can be saved ? ” He made them answer, saying, *Omnia possibilia sunt Deo*, “ God is almighty, and that which is impossible to men, is possible with God ;” signifying, that he condemneth not all rich men, but only those that set their hearts upon riches, that care not how they get them, and when they have them, they abuse them to the satisfying of their own carnal appetites and fleshly delights and pleasures, and not to the honour of God.

And again, such riches as are justly, rightly, and godly gotten, those are the good creatures of God, being rightly used to the glory of God, and comfort of their neighbours ; not hoarding nor heaping them up, to make treasures of them. For riches are indifferent, and are not evil of themselves ; but they are made evil, when our heart is set upon them, and that we put hope in them ; for that is an abominable thing before the face of God. Now after these words spoken by our Saviour Christ ; Peter cometh forth, saying, “ Lo, we have forsaken all that we had, what shall be our reward ? ” Peter had forsaken all that he had, which was but little in substance, but yet it was a great matter to him, for he had no more but that little : like to the widow which cast into the treasury two mites, yet our Saviour praised her gift above all that gave before her : here thou learnest, that when thou hast but little, yet give of the same little ; as Tobias teacheth his son ; for it is as acceptable unto God, as though it were a greater thing.

So Peter, in forsaking his old boat and net, was allowed as much before God, as if he had forsaken all the riches in the world ; therefore he shall have a great reward for his old boat ;

for Christ saith, that he shall be one of them that shall sit and judge the twelve tribes of Israel; and to signify them to be more than others, he giveth them the name of judges; meaning, that they shall condemn the world: like as Almighty God speaketh of the queen of Sheba, that in the last day she shall arise and condemn the Jews that would not hear Christ; and she came so great a journey to hear the wisdom of Solomon. Then he answered and said, “ Whosoever leaveth father, or mother, or brethren, for my sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.” Now what is this, to leave father and mother? When my father or mother will hinder or let me in any goodness, or would persuade me from the honouring of God and faith in Christ, then I must forsake and rather lose the favour and good-will of my father and mother, than to forsake God and his holy word.

And now Christ addeth and saith, “ The first shall be last, and the last shall be first,” alluding to St. Peter’s saying, that soundeth as though Peter looked for a reward for his deeds: and that is it, which is the let of altogether, if a man come to the gospel and heareth the same, and after hath a respect to reward, such a man shall be, *ultimus*, that is, “ the last.” If these sayings were well considered of us, surely we would not have such a number of vain gospellers as we now have, that seek nothing but their own commodities under the name and colour of the gospel. Moreover, he teacheth us to be meek and lowly, and not think much of ourselves, for those that are greatly esteemed in their own eyes, they are the least before God: “ For he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted;” according to the scripture, which saith, *Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam*, “ God resisteth the proud, and advanceth the humble and meek.” And this is it that he saith, “ the first shall be the last,” teaching us to be careful and not to stand in our own conceit, but ever to mistrust ourselves; as St. Paul teacheth, saying, *Qui stat, videat ne cadet*, “ Whosoever standeth let him take heed he fall not; and therefore we may not put trust in ourselves, but rather in God.” Further, in this saying of our Saviour is comprehended a great comfort: for those that are accounted of the world to be the most vilest slaves and abject, may by this saying have a hope to be made the first and the principallest; for

although they be never so low, yet they may rise again, and become the highest. And so this is to us a comfortable sentence, which strengtheneth our faith, and keepeth us from desperation and falling from God. And at the end he saith, *Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi*, that is, " Many are called, and few are chosen." These words of our Saviour are very hard to understand, and therefore it is not good to be too curious in them, as some vain fellows do, who seeking carnal liberty, pervert, toss and turn the word of God, after their own mind and purpose. Such, I say, when they read these words make their reckoning thus ; saying, " What need I to mortify my body with abstaining from all sin and wickedness ? I perceive God hath chosen some, and some are rejected. Now if I be in the number of the chosen, I cannot be damned : but if I be accounted among the condemned number, then I cannot be saved : for God's judgments are immutable." Such foolish and wicked reasons some have ; which bringeth them either to desperation, or else to carnal liberty. Therefore, it is as needful to beware of such reasons, or expositions of the scripture, as it is to beware of the devil himself.

But if thou art desirous to know whether thou art chosen to everlasting life, thou mayest not begin with God : for God is too high, thou canst not comprehend him ; the judgments of God are unknown to man ; therefore thou mayest not begin there : but begin with Christ, and learn to know Christ, and wherefore he came ; namely, that he came to save sinners, and made himself a subject to the law, and a fulfiller of the same, to deliver us from the wrath and danger thereof ; and therefore was crucified for our sins, and rose again to shew and teach us the way to heaven, and by his resurrection to teach us to arise from sin : so also his resurrection teacheth and admonisheth us of the general resurrection. He sitteth at the right hand of God and maketh intercession for us, and giveth us the Holy Ghost, that comforteth and strengtheneth our faith, and daily assureth us of our salvation.

Consider, I say, Christ and his coming ; and then begin to try thyself whether thou art in the book of life or not. If thou findest thyself in Christ, then thou art sure of everlasting life. If thou be without him, then thou art in an evil case. For it is written, *Nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me* ; that is,

“ No man cometh unto the Father but through me.” Therefore if thou knowest Christ, then thou mayest know further of thy election. But when we are about this matter, and are troubled within ourselves, whether we be elect or no ; we must ever have this maxim, or principal rule before our eyes; namely, that God beareth a good-will towards us ; God loveth us ; God beareth a fatherly heart towards us.

But you will say, “ How shall I know that ? Or how shall I believe that ? ” We may know God’s will towards us through Christ : God hath opened himself unto us by his Son Christ : for so saith John the Evangelist ; *Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse revelavit*, that is, “ The Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath revealed.” (John xiii.)

Therefore we may perceive his good-will and love towards us ; he hath sent the same his Son into this world, which hath suffered most painful death for us. Shall I now think that God hateth me ? Or shall I doubt of his love towards me ? Here you see how you shall avoid the scrupulous and most dangerous question of the predestination of God. For if thou wilt inquire his counsels, and enter into his consistory, thy wit will deceive thee ; for thou shalt not be able to search the counsels of God. But if thou begin with Christ, and consider his coming into the world, and dost believe that God hath sent him for thy sake, to suffer for thee, and deliver thee from sin, death, the devil and hell ; then when thou art so armed with the knowledge of Christ, then, I say, this simple question cannot hurt thee ; for thou art in the book of life, which is Christ himself.

Also we learn by this sentence, *Multi sunt vocati*, “ Many are called ;” that the preaching of the gospel is universal ; that it pertaineth to all mankind : that it is written *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum*, “ Through the whole earth their sound is heard.” Now seeing that the gospel is universal, it appeareth that he would have all mankind saved, and that the fault is not in him, if we be damned. For it is written thus, *Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri*, “ God would have all men to be saved :” his salvation is sufficient to save all mankind, but we are so wicked of ourselves that we refuse the same, for we will not take it when it is offered unto us ; and therefore he saith, *Pauci vero electi*, “ Few are chosen ;”

that is, few have pleasure and delight in it: for the most part are weary of it, they cannot abide it. And there are some that hear it, but they will not abide any danger for it, they love more their riches and possessions than the word of God. And therefore, *pauci sunt electi*, there are but a few that stick heartily unto it, and can find in their hearts to forego this world for God's sake and his holy word.

There are some now-a-days that will not be reprehended by the gospel; they think themselves better than it. Some again are so stubborn, that they will rather forswear themselves, than confess their sins and wickedness. Such men are cause of their own damnation; for God would have them saved, but they refuse it; like as did Judas the traitor, whom Christ would have had to be saved, but he refused his salvation; he refused to follow the doctrine of his master Christ. And so, whosoever heareth the word of God, and followeth it, the same is elect by him. And again, whosoever refuseth to hear the word of God, and follow the same, is damned. So that our election is sure if we follow the word of God.

Here is now taught you how to try out your election, namely, in Christ, for Christ is the accounting book and register of God; even in the same book, that is, Christ, are written all the names of the elect. Therefore we cannot find our election in ourselves, neither yet in the high counsel of God: for *Inscrutabilia sunt judicia altissimi*, "Secret things belong to the most High." (Job xxxiv.) "Where then shall I find my election?" In the counting book of God, which is Christ: for thus it is written; *Sic Deus dilexit mundum*, that is, "God hath so entirely loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to that end, that all that believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting." Whereby appeareth most plainly that Christ is the book of life, and that all that believe in him are in the same book, and so are chosen to everlasting life; for only those are ordained which believe.

Therefore when thou hast faith in Christ, then thou art in the book of life, and so art thou sure of thine election. And again, if thou be without Christ, and have no faith in him, neither art sorry for thy wickedness, nor have a mind and purpose to leave and forsake sin, but rather exercise and use the same, then thou art not in the book of life as long as thou art in such

a case ; and therefore shalt thou go into everlasting fire, namely, if thou die in thy wickedness and sin, without repentance.

But there are none so wicked, but he may have a remedy : What is that ? enter into thine own heart, and search the secrets of the same. Consider thine own life, and how thou hast spent thy days. And if thou find in thyself all manner of uncleanness and abominable sins, and so seest thy damnation before thine eyes, what shalt thou then do ? Confess the same unto thy Lord God. Be sorry that thou hast offended so loving a Father, and ask mercy of him in the name of Christ, and believe steadfastly that he will be merciful unto thee in respect of his only Son which suffered death for thee ; and then have a good purpose to leave all sin and wickedness, and to withstand and resist the affections of thine own flesh, which ever fight against the Spirit ; and to live uprightly and godly, after the will and commandment of thy heavenly Father. If thou go thus to work, surely thou shalt be heard. Thy sins shall be forgiven thee : God will shew himself true in his promise, for to that end he hath sent his only Son into this world, that he might save sinners. Consider therefore, I say, wherefore Christ came into this world ; consider also the great hatred and wrath that God beareth against sin; and again consider his great love, shewed unto thee, in that he sent his only Son to suffer most cruel death, rather than that thou shouldst be damned everlastinglly.

Consider therefore this great love of God the Father, amend thy life, fly all occasions of sin and wickedness, and be loath to displease him. And in this doing thou mayst be assured that though thou hadst done all the sins of the world, they shall neither hurt nor condemn thee ; for the mercy of God is greater than all the sins of the world. But we sometimes are in such a case that we think we have no faith at all, or if we have any, it is very feeble and weak. And therefore these are two things ; to have faith and to have the feeling of faith. For some men would fain have the feeling of faith, but they cannot attain unto it ; and yet they may not despair, but go forward in calling upon God, and it will come at the length : God will open their hearts, and let them feel his goodness.

And thus may you see who are in the book of life, and who

are not. For all those that are obstinate sinners, are without Christ, and so not elect to everlasting life, if they remain in their wickedness. There are none of us all but we may be saved by Christ, and therefore let us stick hard unto it, and be content to forego all the pleasures and riches of this world for his sake, who for our sake forsook all the heavenly pleasures, and came down into this miserable and wretched world, and here suffered all manner of afflictions for our sake. And therefore it is meet that we should do somewhat for his sake, to shew ourselves thankful unto him ; and so we may assuredly be found among the first, and not among the last: that is to say, among the elect and chosen of God, that are written in the counting book of God, that are those who believe in Christ Jesu ; to whom with God the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end.

Amen.

A SERMON,
PREACHED BY
MASTER HUGH LATIMER,
ON THE SUNDAY CALLED SEXAGESIMA,
BEING THE TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF FEBRUARY, ANNO 1552.

MARK iv. 3

Exiit seminator, ad seminendum semen suum.

Behold, there went out a sower to sow.

THIS parable needeth not to be expounded, for Christ our Saviour himself expounded the same unto his disciples. Therefore let us only consider and learn his exposition : " He is the sower ; the seed is his word ; the people which hear the same, are the ground wherein the seed is sown." Christ our Saviour is the chief preacher and the chief sower. All that preach his word are sowers. And as it now chanced unto Christ, so happened it to all his preachers after him. For they labour, they sow, they till the ground, and they preach much, but it bringeth forth but little fruit. Like as here in the gospel it appeareth that there was much ground, for there was hard trodden ground, also thorny ground, and stony ground, and good ground ; so that only the fourth part was good ground and bare fruit, notwithstanding that Christ himself preached and sowed the seed.

Here are matters to confound the anabaptists, that affirm that they only have the true word of God, and the right understanding of the same, because it beareth fruit. As for our preaching, they say it is naught, for it beareth no fruit ; or if it do, it is very little ; which opinion is most false and erroneous. For Christ which was very God, and very man, confesseth himself that the word of God, though it be most sincerely and purely preached, yet it taketh little fruit ; yea, scant the fourth part doth prosper and increase. And this is to be noted throughout all the scripture (that is to say, both in the New

and Old Testament) that ever the greatest number were those that refused the word of God, and the less number were they that received the same, and followed it.

Therefore it appeareth that this opinion of the anabaptists is most wicked and erroneous, and clean against the truth of the scriptures. For the devil is not asleep, he resteth not whensoever the word of God is preached ; there he is, fearing he shall suffer some wrong or sustain some loss. What moved our Saviour Christ to use this parable, and to take a similitude of husbandry to teach the people withal ? it is requisite in a preacher to apply himself after his audience ; that is to say, when his audience is learned, or when he preacheth before learned men, then it is meet for a preacher to set out his matters learnedly. And again, when he is amongst the ignorant and unlearned people, to use himself so that they may perceive both him and his doctrine : for a good and godly preacher must endeavour himself to do good, and not to set out his learning, whereby to gain the praise of the world, and to be noted a learned man.

Therefore our Saviour kept this rule ; he having a respect to his audience, used a common manner of teaching. For at that time, some used to teach the people in apalogues, bringing in how one beast talketh with another ; which manner of teaching the heathen much used. And at this time when Christ preached, the Jews' manner was to teach commonly by similitudes. Therefore our Saviour not intending to bring any new manner of teaching in amongst them, did therefore use their common manner of teaching which was by similitudes. For as the coming of our Saviour Christ into this world was low and humble ; so his preaching was simple and plain ; and here he used this familiar and plain similitude of husbandry giving therewith an ensample to all preachers of his word to beware of vain-glory, and only to seek to edify and to profit their audience: like as he himself did, which was not ashamed, after his coming down from heaven, to teach his audience by husbandry, and thereby to exhort them to goodness. So let not the preachers now in this time be ashamed to apply their matter after the capacity of their audience, that they may do them good.

Now the seed is the word of God : the ground is the people. Like as the husbandman getteth much corn when the ground is well tilled and dunged ; so the word of God bringeth forth

much fruit when it lighteth upon a good ground ; that is, upon a heart that gladly receiveth the same. But if it light in the highway, which is a trodden ground : that is, upon those that have been brought up in old customs and usages, by reason whereof they are made so hard that they cannot receive the good seed, &c.

But before I come to entreat further of this matter, you must understand, that Christ speaketh here in the beginning of those that heard the word of God gladly, and willingly came to it. Now there are a great many that not only refuse to follow the gospel, but also utterly refuse the hearing of it. In what a miserable case are they that will not hear it : when so great number are lost, and do perish that hear ? For first there are Turks which refuse the gospel : the Jews also cannot abide it : yea, there are also a great many that bear the name of Christians, that cannot abide the name of the gospel, although it be the doctrine of Christ. Some be so obstinate in their old mumpsimus*, that they cannot abide the true doctrine of God. Some also have this consideration, and if they come to hear sermons, peradventure they themselves are false and naughty people, as bribers, stealers, whoremongers and adulterers, and such like. For these, when they come to the sermon, hear all manner of vices rebuked : they hear the preacher say, *Non demittitur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum* “ Sin cannot be forgiven, without that which was taken away be restored again.” Now when a thief or a briber heareth this, it rubbeth him on the gall, he cannot away with it ; therefore he maketh this reckoning with himself, I know that, *Servus qui non facit voluntatem domini*, that is, “ The servant that knoweth the will of his master, and doth it not, he shall be beaten with many stripes,” therefore I will keep me from it, I will not meddle with it ; for to follow it I cannot, nor will not, because it is against my profit; and I know I shall be the better if I meddle not with it at all, because then I am sure I shall have the lesser punishment. And such considerations keepeth some from hearing of God’s word. Such men shall

* At the Reformation, such was the ignorance of a great part of the parochial clergy, that they did not understand the Latin service. A priest who had long been accustomed to repeat *Mumpsimus Domine*, for *sumpsimus*, told those who endeavoured to set him right, that he would not leave his *old Mumpsimus* for their *new sumpsimus*.

have double punishment, first for their wickedness, and then for their wilful ignorance. For wilful ignorance is a great and grievous sin, and it is a despising of God and his word, in that I may come to the knowledge of God and his will, and yet I will not; but turn my heart from it. God in his holy scripture saith, "He that turneth from the hearing of me and my word, his prayer is abominable in my sight." (Prov. xxviii.) Now when his prayer is cursed and hated in the sight of God, then may he be well assured that he shall receive no favour at God's hands, and so all his doings are hateful, accursed and abominable; and here you may see, how great and abominable a sin wilful ignorance is in the face of God; in which state all they are, that when they may hear the word of God, and wilfully refuse the hearing thereof. But these are not those of which Christ speaketh in this gospel, and therefore we will return and speak of them.

Those which our Saviour Christ speaketh of in this parable or similitude, saying, "Some falleth on the high-way," which is the hard trodden ground, are those that are blinded with old custom. And some are stony, and some are thorny, and set their hearts upon worldly riches; insomuch that all their mind is given to the pleasure and delight of this world, and utterly to forget God, and his holy word.

Which are those that are the high-way, or hard trodden ground? Those are they that have been brought up in evil customs, and have had evil bringing up; have been swearers, and will abide so; have been thieves, and will be so still: have been backbiters and slanderers, wrathful and revengeable, and so continue, without amendment; and set more by their old customs, than they do by the word of God, and love better their wickedness than good living, and are in mind so to continue still. Wherefore the devil hath them in possession as long as they abide in such hardness of heart, and continue in such wickedness: for the devil fetcheth away the seed, that is, the word of God that is sown in their hearts; like as a bird gathereth up the seeds that lie in the highway. And there are many such kind of people, which if they continue in that state, they shall be damned world without end. Yet they do well when they hear the word of God, for they are much better than those that will neither hear it nor follow it. And what shall they do that be in such a case? First, let them know

themselves, and their own wickedness and sinful life; let them be sorry for it, and cry God mercy, and beware they fall not into further inconvenience; for if they go forward in their sinful life, they shall be damned world without end. Therefore, whosoever among you hath the nature of this highway or trodden ground, and is hardened with old customs, let him be mollified with the sweet and pleasant water of the word of God.

“ Some seed falleth upon the stony ground;” that is, such manner of men as at the first are very earnest to hear the word of God, and so continue still till some persecution or trouble shall arise for the same, and then they are gone, they will no longer tarry by it. For if he be asked a question of holy water, or holy bread, of mass or pilgrimages, or of any such trumpery, he yieldeth straightway and granteth it; he will not stand against it, but will follow and go forward with the great number: but those that are godly do not so, they abide by it: they are content to lose their riches, wife, children, yea, and their lives also, for God’s sake and his holy word. But the others that began so hot at the first, are quite gone. And truly, I fear me, that a great many of those are as the seed sown upon stones, which speak now fair, and make a goodly shew of the gospel, but if there come persecution or affliction then they are gone.

But peradventure some will say to me, What shall I do, for I cannot abide persecution, I am so weak and so fearful, and my faith is so slender; therefore tell me what I may do, or what remedy I may have? The only remedy, is to call upon God to strengthen thy faith, and to endue thee with the Holy Ghost, which is the Comforter, which will strengthen thee in all thy tribulation and affliction. Call, I say, upon Almighty God for his Spirit, and then undoubtedly thou shalt be made able to abide whatsoever tribulation or affliction cometh.

There is another sort of seed that falleth among the thorns and bushes; which signifieth those that are let and hindered by this world, and seek nothing but the world and riches. These men, when they hear that the word of God condemneth their greedy covetousness, and heaping of riches, their ambition and desire of worldly honours, they will not hear it, they will not meddle with it, but go forward in their wicked studies. And thus it may appear, that riches are as thorns

that choke and kill the good seed that it cannot come up, and bring forth fruit. For like as you see how thorns stop or hinder a man by the way, so that he cannot go speedily, but they hang upon him, and sometime tear his hose or his coat: so is riches a like let or impediment to us in our going to God; they are burthens that press us downward from God which is above. Like as when a man going up a great hill, and hath a heavy bag upon his neck, that man cannot speedily go, neither can he make any great haste; so all they that are laden with riches and honours of this world, cannot speedily go to God, for they are heavy laden, for this riches draweth them backward.

And here peradventure you will say, that it is not lawful for a Christian man to have riches nor to have honours, neither to bear high dignities. But I answer, we are not bounden by the commandment of God to cast away our substance and riches that God sendeth us, neither to refuse such honours as we shall be lawfully called unto. But we may not do as many do, that greedily and covetously seek for it day and night; for some there are that have no rest, but still study and muse how they may get riches and honours. We must not do so, neither may seek for it after that sort. But if God call thee to honours, if our vocation requireth us so to do, then follow thy vocation with all humbleness and gentleness. Seek not for it; for it is the greatest madness that may be, to seek for honours or riches. If God sendeth them, refuse them not; as the scripture teacheth us, saying, *Divitiae, si affluent, nolite cor opponere,* “If riches come unto you, set not your hearts upon them; neither put your trust in them.” (Ps. lxii.) So St. Paul here commandeth the rich men, saying, “Ye rich men, be not proud-hearted, nor trust in your uncertain riches.” Surely St. Paul giveth them a very apt name, for there is nothing so uncertain in this world as riches is, as we see daily by experience; but specially in these our days, where we daily see that men of great riches and honour are by the mighty hand of God made humble and of base estate. Therefore let us lift up our hearts unto Almighty God, and trust in him, and leave all ambition and covetousness.

We subjects think in this manner, and say, O if I were a great man, or a rich man, as some men be, I would do much

good, I would relieve the poor, and minister justice to them that have wrong. So the sick man thinketh, If I had my health and might go abroad, I would live after the will of God, and keep me from all sin and wickedness, &c. Such foolish reasoning some have with themselves, not considering that the best service that any man can do unto God, is to apply his business in such state and order as God hath appointed and ordered him. For thou canst do God no better service, being a poor man, than to live uprightly in thine estate. And so the sick man pleaseth God as well in his sickness, if he bear the same patiently and willingly, as another man doth in his health. Therefore, these studies to come aloft, and such other vain desires, are naught and foolish: and every good Christian must beware of them, and study to live in his order, as God hath appointed him.

Now to make an end, you have heard here in this gospel, that there are four manner of seeds. The first is sown in the way: the second upon the stones, the third among thorns, and the fourth in good ground. Now let every man examine his own heart, and let him consider with himself whether he be amongst these or not? If he perceive himself to be like those seeds that fall upon the hard way, let him amend. And if he be like to those that lighted upon stones, let him amend. If he be like the seed fallen among thorns, let him not lie there, but get him out, or else he shall be stopped and choked up of them, to the danger of his eternal damnation. Also you have heard that the last three manner of seeds, have all one property, which is, *audire* and *suscipere*, "to hear, and to receive." They can be content to hear the word of God, and bear it away with them, but they forget it. But the good seed only hath a property beside that, which is, *Audire et retinere*, "To hear it, and keep it." *Retinere*, To retain, is the property of the good seed. Therefore if thou canst find this *retinere*, that is, the keeping of God's most holy word in thy heart, then thou art in the good ground, and shall bring forth much fruit. *Cum patientia*, saith Luke, that is, "Thou shalt keep the word of God with patience." For God hath ever a church, and those that be of the same church will keep his word with patience. For he that suffereth for God's sake is neither the highway and hard trodden ground, neither a thorny nor stony ground

but is the very good ground that bringeth forth much fruit. For if he were a thorny ground, he would not suffer his riches to be taken from him. This patience is not known in wealth, nor in prosperity, but only in adversity and tribulation. For when I am in tribulation or affliction for God's word sake ; when I am persecuted for it, lose my goods and substance, and my wife and children : when I am thus vexed, *ex omni parte*, and suffer all these with patience, without any murmuring or grudging against God, then I am one of those that are sown in the good ground, and shall bring forth much fruit. But I fear me there are but few of such as can find in their hearts to do so, for every man is given so much unto this world, that they can scant find in their hearts to give any thing for God's sake unto the poor. How much less would they forego their treasures and their lives, if they should be driven unto it. I fear me they would rather forsake God and his word, than their goods and lives. I beseech God Almighty that he will turn our hearts unto him, and give us grace to rise from the evil ground, and that we may be sown in the good ground, and bring forth fruit manifold to his honour and glory, to whom with the Son and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, for ever. *Amen.*

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page i of the Memoir, *for Thurcaster* *read* Thurcaston.

,, 126, Note, *for Ochinrus* *read* Ochinus.

,, 127, line 20, *for he read* 'the.

,, 149, line 11, *for may read* many.

VOL. II.

Page 109, line 9, *for hear read* here.

,, 114, line 19, *for os read* so.

,, 121, *for BERNHEN read BERNHER.*

INDEX.

Note.—The small numerals refer to the Life ; the Roman capitals to the Volumes.

- Abbeys*, were ordained for the poor, I. 87 ; plunder of them, 267
Abbots, made bishops, I. 107
Abiathar, his treachery, I. 98
Abraham, his hospitality, II. 83 ; his offering of Isaac, II. 252
Absalom, a by walker, I. 141
Absolution, of a mule, I. 124 ; how useful, II. 97 ; a general one, 238
Achan, his covetousness, I. 128
Achior, his fortitude, II. 23
Achitophel, his suicide, I. 199
Acts, necessity of reading the, II. 47
Adam, on the fall of, I. 3 ; saved by faith in Christ, II. 221
Adams, who will not displease their wives, I. 230
Addison, his character of Latimer, clxviii
Adonijah, his rebellion, I. 97
Adultery, should be punished with death, I. 221
Advent, sermon in, I. 115 ; signs of the second, II. 259
Adversaries, their mouths to be stopped,
Adversity, the portion of all believers, and to be taken patiently, II. 120 ; our refuge in, 128
Advocate, Christ our only, II. 5
Affection, that of our heavenly father, how it should move us, II. 3.
Afflictions, the benefit of, II. 131, 404
Age, temptations of old, II. 104
Agony, causes of Christ's, I. 197
Ahab, his fate, I. 80 ; ruled by his wife, 228 ; his wickedness, II. 192
Ahaz, his want of faith, I. 240
Ahaziah, his judgment, I. 251
Ajax, his impiety, II. 158
Alasco, John, account of, I. 125, note
Aldermen, turned colliers, I. 256
Ales, Alexander, account of, ciii.
Alexander, pope, his holy water, I. 70
Algar's, bones, at Malvern, I. 52
Algates, explanation of, I. 98
Alms giring, the advantages of, II. 83, 85
Alum, the property of the pope, I. 161
Ambition, destruction followeth it, II. 248
Ambrose, St., converts Augustine, I. 181

- Amusements*, how far lawful, I. 104 ; those of London youth, II. 177, 252
Anabaptists, their errors, I. 135, 143, 162, 249, 428 ; put to death in England, note I. 143 ; confutation of, II. 428
Ananias and Sapphira, their fearful end, I. 283, II. 81, 169
Ancestors, on the fate of our, II. 193
Anchoress, a female recluse, I. 150
Andrew, St., on the calling of, II. 238
Andrew, a Portuguese, betrays Rhodes to the Turks, II. 248
Angel, a gold coin, its value, I. 161
Angels, on the good and evil, II. 343 ; sermon of the, to the shepherds, II. 309, 343
Anger, wherein sinful, I. 8
Anheale, an old word from the Latin *anhelus*, I. 49
Annals, or *Annials*, yearly masses for the dead, I. 53
Anthony, St., the hermit, story of him and the cobbler, II. 67, 317
Antichrist, tokens of his coming, I. 133
Apologues, their use, II. 429
Apostles, calling of the, II. 239
Apparel, laws in regard to, II. 47 ; on excess of, 229, 234
Apples, story of the golden, I. 166
Appose, meaning of the word, I. 284, note
Appropriations, intolerable hardship of, I. 93
Archery, a manly exercise, I. 176
Arches, abuses of the court of, I. 49
Arians, strange concessions to the, cxlv. ; their heresy, II. 820
Armour, description of the spiritual, I. 26, II. 159
Articles, the six bloody, xxxviii.
Artillery, the devil's, I. 25
Ash-wednesday, superstition practised on, I. 66
Aske, Robert, executed for rebellion, I. 23, note
Askew, Anne, her martyrdom, li. note
Astyages, king of Persia, his barbarity, II. 125
Atheists, in England, I. 167
Atkinson, Dr. Richard, liv.
Attainder, vindication of acts of, I. 162
Attalus and Baldwin, their story, II. 295
Audience, a preacher must respect his, I. 81
Augmentation Court, what, I. 238
Augustine, St., on good works, I. 17 ; on sacrifice, 148 ; on lying, II. 170 ; on voluntary and involuntary sins, 175 ; his conversion, 181 ; on the conduct of the Virgin Mary, II. 58, 181, 382 ; his humility, 62 ; his relation of a trance, 204
Avowry, explanation of the word, I. 204
Babbling, is not praying, I. 148, 153
Bacchanals, nocturnal, I. 52
Bacon, the poor man's venison, I. 225
Balkings, what, I. 90
Bankside, in Southwark, common stews there, I. 117

- Baptismal form*, administered in Latin, I. 52
Barnes, Dr., befriends Latimer, xii.
Battle, how Christians must go to, I. 24 ; that of Christ, 208
Baynham, Sir Edward, letter of Latimer to, xxvii.
Beads, of praying on the, I. 38, 70
Beatitudes, sermon on the, II. 143
Beaufort, Cardinal, his character I. 102, *note*
Beggars, sturdy ones are thieves, II. 51 ; all men are by nature such, 71
Bells, accounted holy, consecrated and christened, I. 156 ; story of one that had lost its clapper, 186 ; superstitious belief concerning, II. 165
Benefices, bought and sold, I. 160 ; on the fee farming of, 183 ; how they should be bestowed, 266, II. 243
Bernard, St., his continence, II. 184
Bernher, Augustine, Bishop Latimer's servant, his dedication, II. i.
Bertram, or Ratram, account of, lxxxv.
Bethlehem, why Joseph and Mary went thither, II. 327 ; want of charity in the inhabitants of, 329
Bible, reasons for its being in the vulgar tongue, xxi ; to be studied by Kings, I. 104
Bilney, Thomas, the means of correcting Latimer, iv. ; his recantation, vii. ; and despair on that account, *ib.* ; his martyrdom, *ib.* ; anecdote of, xlviij. ; his case, I. 200 ; his dealing with Latimer, II. 9 ; on his despondency, 266
Binding, and loosing, the true meaning of, I. 28, II. 98
Bishops, every man must be one in his own house, I. 12 ; their neglect of duty the cause of insurrections, 28 ; busied in civil concerns, 63 ; the most vigilant one, 65 ; non-resident ones employ deputies, 72 ; their advice to Lewis IX., 89 ; ignorance of one, 105 ; neglect their charge, 105 ; one calls Latimer a quondam, 138 ; account of Suffragan, 156 ; made lord presidents, 157 ; story of one who went on visitation, 186 ; another of a pious, II. 108 ; one who cried for unity, 154
Blanchers, spiritual, who they are, I. 71 ; their preaching, 265
Blesis, St., the heart of, a relique at Malvern, I. 52
Blessing, not wagging of fingers, I. 277
Blind, lead the blind, I. 53
Blood, miraculous cure of the issue of, II. 206
Bloodshed, not to be pardoned, I. 169
Blood of Christ, a famous relic of the, I. 209
Bloody sweat, on the, I. 209
Boat, that of Simon made a pulpit, I. 184
Bocardo, description of that prison at Oxford, lvii. *note* ; whence the word, I. 269
Bocher, or Butcher, Joan, burnt for heresy, II. 335
Boleyn, Aune, patronises Latimer, xxxiii.
Bones, the people deluded by the pretended ones of saints, I. 52
Bonner, Bishop, his story of Latimer's wit, xi. ; his dishonesty, clvii ; attempt to excuse him, clxi.
Book of Life, what it is, II. 394 ; we may be sometimes in, and at other times out of it, 423

- Bowl*, superstition of the pardon, I. 70
Bows, shooting with, I. 177
Boxes, account of pardon, I. 29
Bradford, John, converted by Latimer's preaching, xlii.; imprisoned in the tower, xvii.; history of his restitution, I. 239
Bread, Latimer's method of rectifying the abuse of holy, xxxiv.; account of that superstition, I. 70; what meant by daily, II. 64
Brethren, on dissensions among, I. 247
Bribery, compared to pitch, a princely kind of thieving, I. 123; among judges, 160; common at court, 165; remarkable instance of, 166; how practised, 168, 237
Bride, the church, II. 124
Bridegroom, Christ the, II. 124
Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, account of, cxii.; his dispute with Latimer, cxxxvi.
Brother, a thorny one, I. 233
Buckingham, Dr., preaches against Latimer at Cambridge, viii.
Buckler, that of faith, I. 233, II. 171
Burials, not to be hastened, II. 204; indecency practised at, 212; in cities reprobated, 282; minstrels used at, 211
Burnet, Bishop, his unjust reflection upon Latimer, xlv.
Butterflies, burgesses compared to, I. 60
Butts, Dr., his friendship for Latimer, xiv.
By-walks, what, I. 90, 97

Cæsar, duty of paying tribute to, I. 259
Cain, his guilt, I. 16, 236
Calais, once an English town, I. 3
Calling, every man to wait his, II. 242
Calvin, his doctrine of the decrees not asserted by Latimer, clxix.; on the descent into hell, clxx.
Cambridge, Heretics Hill at, vi.; remarkable sermon preached there, I. 6; state of the colleges there, 159; story of a scholar of, 243; a woman falsely condemned there, II. 10
Cambyses, his severe justice, I. 130
Camel, what meant by going through the eye of a needle, II. 421
Cana, sermon on the marriage in, II. 379
Candles, superstitiously used, I. 21, 34, II. 165
Canonists, employed by bishops, I. 72
Canonization, its origin, I. 47, 133
Card, two sermons on the, I. 1, 15; affected imitation of them, 6
Cardan, his character of Edward VI., I. 102, *note*
Cardinals, never did good in England, I. 103; who the first of, 190
Careless, John, of Coventry, account of, xlvi.; his letters, II. xiii
Cautele, explanation of the word, I. 18, *note*
Centurion, his faith, II. 199
Ceremonies, superstitious ones in religion, I. 49
Chambering, what it means, II. 233
Chances, account of, I. 107, 268

- Chaplains*, proper ones to be promoted, I. 103; duty of noblemen's, II. 55
- Charity*, want of, I. 17; how ascertained, 144; taught in the Lord's Prayer, II. 14; motives to, 82; covers sins, II. 91; instance of, 118; properties of true, 301
- Charles V.* contrives the Interim, I. 281
- Chaucer*, his meaning of cautèle, I. 18, *note*
- Chedsey*, Dr., account of, lxii.
- Cheke*, Sir John, his regard for Latimer, clxvi.; piety of his mother, II. 11
- Child*, a mother wrongfully condemned for the death of her, II. 10
- Children*, how to be brought up, I. 42; II. 65; craft of those of this world, 37; their number, 39; who are children of light, 41; to be chastised for lying, II. 167; deliverance of the three, 191; difficulty in regard to, 200; afraid of sleep, 213; examples to be set them, 294
- Christ*, testimony of the Baptist to, I. 1; on the incarnation of, 5; his rule, 6; discourses with Simon, the Pharisee, 18; represented by the householder, 33; his remonstrance with the prelates, 36; his offering on the cross, 67; hated by the Pharisees, 120; afraid of death, 144; visited the old world, 149; diligent in preaching, 139, 179; compared himself to a carcass, 180; made a boat his pulpit, 186; laboured in his vocation, 193; on his agony in the garden, 197; his twofold nature, 201; his descent into hell, 211; his sermon interrupted, 234; prayed for his disciples, 268; our only advocate, II. 5; a schoolmaster, 16; his parliament, 38; his second advent, 40; his conference with the Samaritan woman, 57; our pardon from, 91; bridegroom of the feast, 124; his body and blood the wedding dish, 128; his livery, 217; his sermon interrupted, 233; prayed for his disciples, 241; signs of his second advent, 259; John's message to, 280; no salvation without, 289; his cognizance, 300; his twofold nature, 322; his nativity, 326, 332; not to be sought in the glister of the world, 348; manifested to the Gentiles, 350; his circumcision, 354; a Saviour, 364; overcometh the devil, 369; his language to his mother, 383; his miracles, 387; his universal dominion, 401; he is the Saviour, 428
- Christian*, definition of the, I. 5; his life a preparation for death, 213; called to war, 24, II. 108, 158; has his crosses, 131; must be grounded in knowledge, 214
- Christmas-day*, sermon on, II. 307
- Chrysostom*, St., his opinion of rulers, I. 91; on our Saviour's preaching, 183; his wrong notion of common prayer, II. 13
- Church*, how to be governed, I. 33; God's household, 34; robbery of, 267
- Churches*, superstition in adorning, I. 21, 34; spoliation of the, 92, 237
- Churchwardens*, their usefulness, II. 198
- Churchyards*, should not be in cities, II. 282
- Circumcision*, on that of Christ, II. 354
- Clawbacks*, or flatterers, pernicious to princes, I. 104, 108
- Clementines*, what they were, I. 191, *note*
- Clergy*, degeneracy of the, I. 34, 61; reduced by the reformation, 92; proper ones to be preferred, 106; though ignorant, not to be defrauded

- of their dues, 280; duty of praying for the, II. 25; too often neglect their flocks in sickness, 90; purchase lands, 195; not to run without a call, 242; their extravagance in dress, 297; ignorance of the, 490
- Clothmakers*, deceits of, I. 122
- Coals*, monopoly in, I. 256; how to heap them on our enemy's head, II. 113
- Cobler*, Captain, his insurrection, I. 23, *note*; story of a pious one, II. 67, 317
- Coin*, word of God compared to, I. 34; debased state of the English, 88, 121, 140
- Cole*, Dr. Henry, account of, liv. *note*
- Colet*, Dr. John, account of, II. 113, *note*
- Colleges*, poor state of the, 159; on the plunder of, I. 267
- Collier*, Jeremy, error of, xliv.
- Colliers*, aldermen turned, I. 256
- Cologne*, fabulous story of the kings of, II. 353, 363
- Commandments*, friar ten, story of, II. 189
- Commerce*, articles of Popish, I. 47
- Commons*, deceived into rebellion, I. 27; contentions between them and the gentry, 224; their utility, 285
- Communion*, the two offices, xvii.
- Confession*, true nature of, II. 228; use and abuse of, II. 398
- Consistories*, abuses in the bishops, I. 49; practices in the devil's, 166
- Contrition*, what, I. 227
- Convocation*, disorderly proceedings of the xxxv.; sermon before the, I. 31, 39
- Corah, Dathan and Abiram*, their judgment, II. 247
- Corinthians*, dissensions among the, I. 64; incest among the, 118
- Corn*, fraud practised in the sale of, II. 75
- Coverdale*, bishop, account of, I. 249
- Covetousness*, cause of the debasement of money, I. 121; dreadful instance of, 161; fruitfulness of, 164; and lechery go together, 221; sermon against, 216, 238; the root of rebellion, 224
- Council*, wherein it is good, I. 263
- Cow*, fraud in the sale of a, II. 75
- Cowl*, burying in a Franciscan's, I. 47
- Cranmer*, archbishop, in the Tower with Latimer, xvii.; his disputation at Oxford, lxiii.
- Criminals*, should have spiritual instruction, I. 146
- Cromwell*, earl of Essex, a friend to Latimer, xxxiii.; silences the convocation, xxxv.
- Cross*, made a sign of rebellion, I. 27; what is the Christian's, II. 133; brings us to Christ, *ib.*; superstitious abuse of the sign of the, 165; who are the enemies of the, 185
- Curates*, for prisons, I. 160; ignorant ones chosen, 268; to have their dues, though ignorant, 280; how to remedy the evil of bad ones, 290; their simpleness no excuse for the people, II. 190
- Daniel*, his fidelity, II. 71
- Darcy*, lord, his conversation with Latimer, I. 145
- Daughters of men*, who they were, I. 230

- David*, king, his tenderness to Saul, I. 85; his old age, 97; his sin in numbering the people, 172; his dread of death, 200; his fall, 236; II. 55, 60; his origin, 209; his calling, 246
- Day*, meaning of the evil, I. 26
- Dead*, superstitious treatment of the, II. 165; not to be hastily interred, 204
- Dearth*, covetousness the cause of, I. 92; wonderful preservation in the time of, II. 193
- Death*, fearlessness with which some meet, I. 143; its terrors to others, 198; how to sustain the pains of, 201; uncertainty of the signs of, II. 204; on the dread of, 214
- Debts*, Christ hath paid our, II. 5
- Decretals*, what they were, I. 191
- Delicates*, for the wicked in the other world, I. 53
- Denmark*, justice of the king of, I. 250
- Deputies*, employed by bishops, I. 72
- Despair*, fearful instances of, I. 200, 243; II. 99, 266
- Devil*, a great conqueror, I. 25; his legions, *ib.*; progeny of, 40; served on holidays, 50; a diligent prelate, 65; his ploughing, 67; the author of superstition, 68; when at rest, 114; an enemy to preaching, 135; goeth to the university, 183; hinders prayer, II. 4; not afraid of holy water, 17; rejoiced at the death of Christ, 35; a usurper, 49; his ambiguity and devices, 103; a serpent, 111; how to be resisted, 105, 112; served on Sundays, 139; our deadly foe, 159; he and his angels numerous, 160; candles and bells used to drive him away, 165; gain ascribed to, 192, 256; hath a general faith, 226; hath nothing of his own, 257; hath more servants than Christ, 300; account of his fall, 343; endeavours to prevent the crucifixion 344; strange appearance of the, 369; his diligence in sowing tares, 409
- Devonshire*, rebellion in, I. 224; cruelties practised by the insurgents there, II. 46, 47
- Dicing-houses*, in London, I. 176
- Diet*, laws to be observed in, II. 47
- Dignities*, may be lawfully attained, II. 483
- Dionysius*, the Carthusian, account of, I. 188
- Dirges*, account of, I. 267
- Disciples*, charity the badge of true, I. 144
- Discipline*, great want of, I. 208, 235
- Dispensations*, purchase of, I. 47
- Dispensers*, of religion, their duty, I. 33
- Dissensions*, why none among Turks and Jews, I. 114, 185; among brethren, 247
- Divinity*, the study of, neglected, I. 159
- Divorcements*, evil of, I. 89; their frequency in England, 221
- Doctors*, how to be esteemed, I. 197
- Doctrine*, counterfeit, I. 34; evil to be eschewed, 81; an argument that we have the true, 135
- Docg*, his treachery, II. 153
- Donatists*, their errors, I. 144

- Dorman*, Thomas, infamous remark of, clvi.
Doubts, how sinful, I. 18
Dress, extravagance of, I. 229; II. 234
Drinking, excess in, I. 150; rules to be observed in, II. 231
Drunkards, warning to, II. 214
Dubber, Dr., saying of, I. 105
Dung, the best for improving land, II. 69.
- Early rising*, benefit of, I. 231
Eating, an excess in, I. 150; rule to be observed in, II. 230, 295
Editha, queen of Edward the Confessor, anecdote of, I. 284, *note*
Education, neglect of, I. 64
Edward VI., his excellent education, I. 72, 164; sermons before, 79, 257; advice respecting his marriage, 89, 220, 241; his character, by Cardan, 102
Election, on the doctrine of, II. 394; how to try our, 423
Elias, the rabbi, his opinion of the end of the world, II. 40, *note*
Empires, account of the four great, II. 31
Enemies, how to contend with our spiritual, I. 24; how to be overcome, II. 113; Christ hath many, 188
England, necessity of a reform in the church of, I. 49; obstinacy of the people of, 83; visitation of, 132; want of discipline in, 208; low state of morals in, 217, 221, 235; prevalence of perjury in, 277; frauds practised in, II. 75, 78
Enhancing, evil of, I. 93
Epiphany, sermon on the, II. 350
Erasmus, enmity of the English to, I. 44
Eve, saved by faith, I. 220
Excommunication, necessity of, I. 235
Excuses, the sinners', II. 136
Executors, injustice and hypocrisy of, I. 20
Extravagantines, what, I. 191
- Faith*, description of the buckler of, I. 29; a great lady, 149; her train *ib.*; cometh by hearing, 181; a noble duchess, 215; how obtained, II. 92; how to distinguish a lively, 94; the buckler of 171; that of Jairus, 199; we must all have a special, 226; examples of 389; on St. Paul's doctrine of justifying, 301; nature of true, 311; how to make trial of, 413
Farmers, their extortions, I. 255; frauds practised by, II. 75
Father, in what respects God is our, II. 3
Fathers, their duty, I. 12
Feast, parable of the marriage, II. 123
Feckenham, John, account of, liv. *note*
Fee farming, of benefices, abuse of, I. 183
Fellows, what meant by beating our, I. 53
Ficinus, Marsilius, account of, I. 178, *note*
Field, what is God's, I. 55
Fingers, true blessing not wagging of, I. 279

- Fire*, why the torments of hell described as, I. 410
Fishers, why preachers are called, II. 239, 251
Fishes, miracle of the, I. 191
Flagellantes, account of, II. 133, *note*
Flutterers, how to get rid of, I. 108
Fleet Prison, poor woman in the, I. 112; want of a curate for the, 160
Flesh, resisteth the spirit, I. 205; what kinds may be used, II. 231
Flock powder, what, I. 122
Flood, manners of the world before the, I. 221
Florence, council of, I. 188
Fool, sin of calling our neighbour, I. 8
Forefathers, must be left to the mercy of God, I. 281
Forest, friar, his execution, I. xxxvi., 242
Forgiveness, duty of, I. 16, II. 89
Francis, St., burying in the vestment of, I. 47
Fraud, remarkable instances of, I. 122; II. 75; against the revenue, sinful, I. 277; sauce for, 76
Friars, story of one, II. 189; how they rob the people, 90
Friars Coat, its supposed efficacy, I. 29; take money in their sleeves, 168
Friday, meditations for Good, I. 195
Friendship, false and true, I. 18, 19; our Saviour experienced the want of, 206
Fuller, Dr. his account of a remarkable sermon, I. 6
Funerals, not to be hastened, II. 204; minstrels used at, 211, weeping and wailing at, 212
Gainsayers, character of, I. 113; preacher must be one, 115
Gains, falsely ascribed to our own labour, II. 256
Galilee, the lake of, II. 402
Gaming, laws against, II. 47
Garden, on Christ's agony in the, I. 196; benefit of meditating in a, 203
Gardiner, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, his character, cxvi; attempt to clear, clxi; his dying words, clxix.
Garment, on the wedding, I. 231
Gentiles, who they are, II. 231
Gentleman, one that said his mule was absolved, I. 124; one falsely executed for murder, 170; vicious and idle lives of II. 154
Germany, its visitation, I. 131
Giants of the old world, what they were, I. 221; great men compared to, 124
Gideon, improvement of his story, I. 29
Giffe Gaffe, explanation of, I. 123
Gifts, what are unprofitable, I. 15; those of God to be employed, 109
Girdle, that of the christian warrior, I. 26, II. 166
Giving, in what respects it is gaining, II. 83
Glosser, explanation of, I. 115

- Gluttony*, sin of, II. 231
Glynn, Dr. William, account of, liv. *note*
God, he will come to judgment, I. 53; his field, 55; will not work with private authority, 99; his punishments certain, 107; his gifts to be employed, 109; the poor man's refuge, 127; hath two visitations, 131; our deliverer, 147; prayer-acceptable to, 148; must not be tempted, 184; his blessing maketh rich, 192; his usury, 279; knoweth his elect, 282; in what respects he is our father, II. 8; how his name is hallowed, 20; what meant by his kingdom, 30, 36; of doing his will, 43; not limited, 72; our only defender, 108; how he tempteth, 111; gave us his son, 126; his armour, 159; how to know his will, 202; who were his sons, 219; only to be worshipped, 311
Gold, kings must not heap up too much, I. 90
Goodwin Sands, Tenterden steeple the cause of, I. 227
Good Friday, every day should be so, I. 196
Goods, ill gotten, not to be bestowed in charity, I. 20; how to be used, II. 79
Gorham, Nicholas de, account of, I. 179
Gospel, is God's plough work, I. 56; spiritual meat, 58; preached to the old world, II. 219
Gospellers, a thorny one, I. 233; various descriptions of, 261; false, account of, II. 36
Government, subjects must be obedient to, I. 27; II. 46, 163, 178
Grace, pilgrimage of, I. 23
Greeks, their dominion, II. 31
Greesings, what, I. 185
Gunpowder Treason, attempt to deny the existence of the, clxiv.
Habergeon, that of the christian described, I. 27
Hales, famous relic in the monastery of, I. 209
Hallowing the divine name, what, II. 20
Hand-makers, what, I. 94
Harlot, indifferently used for both sexes, I. 123, 278
Harlots, judgment of Solomon between two, I. 110
Harpagus, remarkable story of, 11, 125
Harpsfield, John, account of, liv. *note*
Harvest, account of the great, II. 409, 414
Hats, evil of cardinals', I. 103
Hawking, a lawful pastime, II. 251
Heads, on the covering of women's, I. 229
Health, description of the helmet of, I. 29
Hearing of the word, duty of, I. 183
Heart, blessing attached to purity of, II. 152
Heathen, excluded from salvation, II. 289
Heaven, the ladder of, I. 159, 180; in the Lord's prayer explained, II. 7; a material and spiritual, 61
Hedges, within which men are kept in eating, II. 230
Hell, degrees in, I. 9; a contemplation of, 142; the way to, 160; on the descent of Christ into, clxx., I. 211; why described as fire, 410

- Henry VII.*, encouraged promoters, I. 255; story of, II. 370
Henry VIII., his divorce, xiii; behaviour to Latimer, xv.; Latimer's letter to him, *ib.*; calls the bishop to account for his preaching, and is satisfied, xxxvii.; I. 119; Latimer's present to him, xxxviii.; deceived by a relic of Christ's blood, I. 209
Herod, his character, I. 264; treachery, II. 352, 372
Heresy, old new scoured, I. 28
Heretics' Hill at Cambridge, vi.; account of some new ones, I. 185
Hezekiah, destroyed the brazen serpent, I. 71; his prayer and deliverance, II. 61, 205
Highway hearers, description of, II. 431
Hogs, how called in the country, I. 131
Holidays, abuses of, I. 49; the devil served on them, 50, II. 189
Holy Ghost, on the sin against the, I. 242, II. 98, 129
Holyman, Dr. John, account of, cxii.
Homilies, Latimer's share in them, xlv.; how homelily handled by the priests, I. 105
Honour, that of the king, I. 92; meaning of double, 137; may lawfully be obtained, II. 433
Horses, lawsuit about, I. 83; why kings should not have too many, 86; how made fat, II. 69; bled on Stephen's day, 821
Household, the church is God's, I. 33
Householder, Christ the spiritual, I. 33; sermon on the parable of the, II. 417
Houses, religious, not pulled down, II. 66
Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, his character, I. 103
Hunger, of spiritual, II. 150
Hunters, children of this world compared to, I. 45
Hunting, a commendable pastime, II. 251
Husbandmen, preachers are God's, I. 56; their neglect of religious duties, II. 137
Husbands, duty of, I. 27, 229; indulgence of some to their wives, 230; must be faithful and affectionate, II. 67
Hypocrisy, progeny of, I. 41
Idleness, our Saviour abhorred, I. 193
Ignorance, the people upbraided with, I. 121; in what respects criminal, II. 189; remarkable instance of, *ib.*; of the clergy, 430
Images, clad in silk and jewels, I. 34; worshipped, 50; abused by blanchers, 70; juggling with, *ib.*
Impropriations, evil of, I. 182
Inclosures, evils of general, I. 226
Ingulphus, story of, I. 284
Insurrections, in England, I. 23, 224
Interim, account of the, I. 251
Ire, sinfulness of, I. 8
Isaiah, charged with sedition, I. 181
Jacob, his faithfulness, II. 151; calling of, 250

- Jairus*, his faith in Christ, II. 198
Jerom, St., his character of Rome, I. 155
Jerusalem, cause of its destruction, II. 261; attempt of Julian to restore, 263
Jesebel, her influence over Ahab, I. 228
Jesus, meaning of the name, II. 364, see *Christ*
Jethro, his advice to Moses, II. 242
Jewell, John, one of the notaries at the disputation in Oxford, lxii. lxxiii.
Jews, a stiff-necked people, I. 83; have no dissensions, 134, 135; wherein they sinned in asking for a king, 167; their false faith, II. 209; their dereliction, 261; their vain attempt to recover Jerusalem, 263; their false notions of the Messiah, 345
Joab, his wicked obedience, II. 55, 60.
Joan of Kent, burnt for heresy, I. 335
Job, his fear of death, I. 199
John the Baptist, his answer to the Pharisees, I. 1; his integrity, 251, II. 56; preached penance, 225; an example of obedience, 244; his message to Christ, 280
John, St., of Ossulston, who, I. 142
Jonas, his powerful sermon at Nineveh, I. 217; his fear of death, 200
Joseph, his story considered, II. 149, 224; his example, 245
Joshua, his faith, I. 128
Josiah, his reformation, I. 157
Jubilee at Rome, traffic carried on at, I. 47
Judas Maccabeus, his example, II. 181
Judas Iscariot, a cardinal, I. 190; his fall, II. 54; made restitution, *ib.* his suicide, 199; wanted faith, 226; might have been saved, 425
Judge, on the parable of the unjust, I. 111, 129; saying of one, 112; advice to, 126; terrible punishment of one, 130; sign of his skin desirable, 131; doom of a covetous one, 160
Judith, her faith and devotion, II. 23, 53
Julian, his attempt to restore Jerusalem, II. 263
Juries, which acquitted murderers for money, I. 170; II. 54
Justice, necessity of, II. 170
Ket, his rebellion in Norfolk, I. 183, 224
Keys, those which Christ left to his church, I. 37
Killing, various modes of sinful, I. 8, 12
Kingdom of God, what it is, II. 30, 36
Kings are to be instructed, I. 80; evil of strange, 85; to take care in marrying, 88; not to have too much riches, 91; study their pastime, 104; why it was wicked in the Jews to ask for one, 167; justice of the king of Denmark, 250; noble instance of justice in one, 251; duty of paying tribute to, 276; to be prayed for, II. 65; duties to be paid to, 178; account of the three kings of Cologne, 352
Labour, all men must, I. 193; necessity of, II. 51, 77, 257
Ladder, the pope's, I. 106; that of heaven, 159
Land, best improvement of, II. 69

- Lands*, on the enclosure of, I, 226
Langdale, Albert, account of, IV., note
Landlords, their exactions, I, 91; turned graziers, 255
LATIMER, Bishop, his life, i—clxxi; his remonstrance respecting the king's horses, I, 87; account of his father, 93; his conversation with a bishop, 105; troubled with the importunities of the poor, 110; accused of sedition to Henry VIII., 118, II. 11; charged with singularity, I, 112; his superstitious practice, 121; a bishop angry with him for his sermon, 138; his discourse with Lord Darcey, 144; evil spoken of, 163; taught by his father the use of the bow, 177; obliged to give place to Robin Hood, 187; restitution made by his preaching, 239; attended the execution of John Forest, 242; his examination, 252, 270; conversation with a gentleman, 255; obtains the pardon of a woman, II. 10; superstition of a relation of his, II. 165; called an old fool, 211
Latin, improperly used in divine service, I, 52, 66
Laws to be strictly observed, II. 47, 295; general and special, 222
Lawsuit about a horse, I, 83; account of an oppressive one, 111
Lawyers, babbling of, II. 19
Laymen, possess ecclesiastical preferments, I, 64
Learning, reformed doctrines called new, I. 28
Leaven, that of magistrates, I, 235
Leman, explanation of the word, I, 40, note
Leper, cure of the, II. 387
Lewis IX. of France, anecdote of, I, 89
Liberty, that of Christ, I, 86
Life, how to know whether we are in the book of, II. 394
Light, who are children of, I, 41; their properties, 46
Lincolnshire, insurrection in, I, 23
Livery of Christ, what it is, II. 217, 300
Loins, what meant by girding the, I, 26
London, covetousness of the citizens of, I, 59; whoredom in, 118; increase of whoredom in, 176; customs of the youth in, 177; compared to Nineveh, 218
Loosing, meaning of binding and, I, 28
Lord's Prayer, sermons on the, II. 1, 119
Lord's Supper, brought out of estimation, I, 67; said to be a new term, 105; neglected, II. 127
Lording hath put down preaching, I. 62
Lot, his ministry, I, 131; case of his wife, 146
Love, the livery of Christ, II. 217, 300
Luther, how far to be commended, I, 191; his agony of spirit, II. 267
Lying, punishment of, II. 81; sinfulness of, 167

Mackarell, Dr. heads an insurrection, I. 23

Magistrates, to be in credit, 123; their duty, 140; not to be censured, 144; not to shew undue affection, 235; their office founded on God's word, 275; to be obedient to the will of God, II, 48; to be prayed for, 65; to punish wrong doers, 148

- Malverne*, impostures in the monastery of, I. 52
Man, his natural state, I. 2; his redemption, 5; what he is of himself, II. 322
Manure, what is the best, II. 69
Manichees, their errors, I. 181
Manners, those of the London youth, I. 177
Manuaries, for relics, I. 47
Marriage, scandalous abuse of in England, I. 150, 220; caution to kings in, 241; the parable of that of the king's son explained, 260; duty of persons in that state, II. 27; religiously improved, 67; its excellence, 68; sermon on that of the king's son, 123; laws for, 222; highly extolled, 278; that in Cana, 379; its utility, 381; a school-house, 886
Martin-le-Grand, St., a privileged place, I. 176
Martyr, Peter, account of, I. 125, note
Mary, the Virgin, compared to a saffron-bag, I. 56; her vain-glory, 58; our Saviour's reproof of her, II. 181, 383; her example, 315; whether she had more sins than Christ, 326; her poor condition, 328; puffed up, 338; her negligence, 377
Mary Magdalen, her repentance, I. 13
Mass, a lucrative trade, I. 52; profiteth nothing, 69; scandal of the, 148; sermons omitted for the, 182; a denying of Christ, II. 187; inefficacy of the, 411
Mass-Mongers, usurpers of Christ's office, 11, 187
Masters, their duty to servants, II. 203, 294
Maunday, meaning of the word, lxvi., note
Meat, the word of God is, I. 33, 58; at the great marriage-feast, II. 125; what may be eaten, 231
Melancthon, Peter invited to England, I. 125
Merchant, covetousness of a, I. 255; story of a godly one, II. 118
Mercy, blessing of, II. 151
Merit, none in our works, II. 93, 155, 419
Micaiah, his faithfulness, I. 80
Midwife, priest turned, I. 9; the office to be regulated, II. 385
Milton, his inconsistency, xliv.
Mingle Mangle, what it is in religion, I. 181, 235, 265, 271
Ministers, number of professing, I. 29
Minstrels, used at funerals, II. 211
Mint, clergy have the control of the, I. 63; Isaiah found fault with the, 121
Miracles, on the popish, I. 52, 133; those of the devil, 191; those of Christ, II. 287; why true ones have ceased, 379
Mirth, lawfulness of, II. 381
Monarchies, account of the four great, II. 31
Monasteries, insurrections occasioned by their suppression, I. 28; impositions in the, 52
Monastic order, origin of, I. 42
Money, debasement of, I. 63
Monk, story of the merry, I. 137; better to live in the fear of God than to be a, II. 66

- More, Sir Thomas, anecdote of, I. 227*
Moses, his character, I. 65; calling of, II. 245; idolatry in his absence, 342
Mother, one falsely condemned for the murder of her child, II. 10
Mourning, how it is a blessing, II. 147
Mule, absolution of one, I. 124
Mumpstimus, preferred by an ignorant old priest, II. 430, 432
Murder, not to be pardoned, I. 169; a gentlemen executed falsely for, 170; destruction for voluntary and involuntary, 175; a woman falsely condemned for, II. 10
Mysteries, inscrutable ones, II. 394
- Nain, restoration of the widow's son of, II. 283*
Name, of hallowing the divine, II. 20
Necromancy, superstition of II. 24
Neighbour, on want of charity to, I. 8, 16, 98
Net, the similitude of the, II. 261
Newgate, want of a chaplain for, I. 160
Nicene Council, remarkable circumstance at the, I. 263
Nineveh, the repentance of, I. 216
Noah, on the preaching of, I. 131; his intemperance, II. 231
Noblemen, their education neglected, I. 64; early rising of one, 281
Norfolk, rebellion in, I. 224; II. 46
North, insurrection in the, I. 23
Novatians, their errors, II. 98
- Obedience, the doctrine of, I. 258, 275*
Oblations, unjust ones abhorred, I. 15, 20
Observantes, an order of friars, I. 263
Ochinus, Bernardin, account of, I. 126, note
Offence, three ways of giving, I. 8; different kinds of, II. 292
Offices, two in preaching, I. 118; on buying and selling, 165; care to be taken in the choice of, II. 241
Offices, generally purchased, I. 165; II. 242
Oglethorpe, Owen, Bishop of Carlisle, account of, liv.
Ordnance, the devil's, I. 25
Oppression, causeth dearth, I. 92
Origen, his errors, I. 197
Oscularies, a Romish article of commerce, I. 47
Oswulston, Saint John of, II. 142
Oxenbridge, John, his sermon, I. 58, note
Oxford, account of the prison there, lvii.; disputationes held there, lxii.; remarkable cases of execution at, I. 183, 145
- Paget, Lord, debases the coin, I. 140, note*
Painters, their erroneous representation of death and hell, I. 198
Palmer, Julius, converted by the deaths of Latimer and Ridley, clix.
Papists, how enemies of the cross, II. 185; vacate the office of a Saviour, 366

- Parables*, signification of the word, II. 407; that of the unjust steward, I. 32; the sower, 55; the widow and judge, 111, 129, 134, 146, 152; the wedding feast, 260; that of the cruel servant, II. 95; the marriage of the king's son, 124; that of the sower, 407, 428; that of the householder, 417
- Pardons*, the popish trade in, I. 28, 47, 70; how we sue for, II. 91
- Parents*, their duty, II. 66; sinfulness of, 168; on the love of, 200; to set a proper example, 294
- Parishioners*, how inexcusable, II. 190
- Parker*, Dr., preaches in a tree, I. 186, *note*
- Parliament*, benefit of a, II. 37; one above all others, 38; that of Christ at the last day, 270
- Parr*, Catherine, her piety, I. 207
- Parsons*, afraid of contagious sickness, II. 90
- Parsons*, father, his authority quoted to defend Gardiner, cxi.
- Passion*, that of Christ considered, I. 214
- Pastimes*, what should be the king's, I. 116; those of London youth, 177; lawful ones, II. 252
- Paternoster*, a prayer above all others, I. 2; a powerful weapon, 141
- Patrons*, the duty of I. 266; II. 243
- Paul, St.*, his censure of the Corinthians, I. 64; an example of humility, 143; his temptation, II. 107; meaning of the charge to follow him, 180; his pilgrimage, 183; his painful life, 403
- Paul's Churchyard*, unhealthiness of, II. 282
- Paul's Cross*, account of the pulpit of, I. 47, *note*
- Paynim*, what, I. 283
- Peace*, the territory of Satan when at, I. 114
- Peacemakers*, benefits of, II. 154
- Pedaries*, for pilgrims, I. 47
- Peirce*, erroneous statement of, clii.
- Penance*, the staff of its efficacy, II. 522
- Pentecostals*, account of, I. 120
- Perjury*, in England, I. 277
- Persecution*, a popish principle, cxliii.; the lot of the children of light, I. 40; brings us to Christ, II. 133; blessing of those who suffer, 155; how to endure, 432
- Persians*, their dominion, II. 31
- Petavius*, dangerous concession of his, cxlv.
- Peter, St.*, his boat, I. 185; forgat his paternoster, II. 53; his judgment on Ananias and Sapphira, 81; his calling, 240; his deliverance, 249; his reward, 422
- Pharaoh*, his sin and punishment, II. 208
- Pharisees*, their question to John, I. 1; our Saviour's conference with one 13; their hatred of Christ, 120; like modern priests, 273
- Philosopher*, saying of a, II. 69
- Physic*, proper to use, II. 149, 206; charity recommended to the professors of, *ib.*
- Pigs' bones* made relics, I. 51

- Pilgrimage*, uscless, I. 21; that of grace, 23, *note*; pedaries sold for, 47; to images, 50; constitution against, 51; a necessary one of eight days, II. 142; that of St. Paul, 183
- Plough*, sermon of the, I. 55; preaching is God's plough work, 56, II. 140; that of the devil, I. 67
- Ploughman*, the preacher is God's, I. 56; his labour, 57; his utility, 225
- Pluralities*, purchased, I. 47
- Pocularies*, purchase of, I. 47
- Pole*, Reginald, his concern in the persecutions under Mary, clx.; his character, I. 154; perverts scripture, 178
- Policy*, of the children of this world, I. 45; crookedness of worldly, 88
- Polygamy*, unlawfulness of, I. 87
- Poor*, their oppressions, I. 110; must be importunate in prayer, 129; their suits neglected, 130; equal to the rich in God's sight, 225; their suits to be heard, 231; reason of the distinction between rich and, II. 73; the way to gain wealth is to relieve the, 83; why blessed, 145
- Pope*, his rust, I. 28; his trade in pardons, 29; his commerce, 47, *note*; the devil's chaplain, 70; oppressive tyranny of the, 161; strange arguments for his supremacy, 185, 189
- Povery*, in what respects the old learning, I. 29; the traffic carried on in, 47
- Poverty*, what we learn by that of Christ, II. 328
- Power on her head*, what meant by a woman having, I. 229
- Prayer*, form of bidding, I. 38; to be made incessantly, 129; diligence in, 148; not vain babbling, 153; not to be made to saints, 204; seven sermons on the Lord's-prayer, II. 1-119; benefit of common, 13; short ones efficacious, 28; a spiritual weapon, 173; not will work, 175; made by our Saviour for his disciples, 241; that of the Leper, 391; three things to move us to, 395
- Preachers*, God's ploughmen, I. 56; account of strawberry, 58, *note*; evil ones not to be heeded, 81; have two offices, 113; must be gainsayers, 115; charged with sedition, 114; call both good and bad, 251; those of Christ fitted by prayer, 268; to be prayed for, II. 33, 174; false ones enemies to Christ, 194; care to be had in the choice of, 241; must be regularly called, 253
- Preaching*, spiritual ploughing, I. 56; decay of, 62; cause of its unfruitfulness, 139; the ladder of heaven, 180; no matter where so it be properly done, 186; sitting or standing, 188; that of Jonas at Nineveh, 217; sedition falsely attributed to, 226; advice concerning, 245; the instrument of promoting Christ's kingdom, II. 33; of duty, 49; excuses for not attending, 139; the way of salvation, 266
- Prestestination*, dangerous notions of, II. 393; how to ascertain our, 394, 423
- Prelates*, reproof of Christ to negligent, I. 33; their backwardness to improvement, 43; spiritual ploughmen, 57; evil of unpreaching, 61; seekers after civil offices, 62; unfit to be presidents, 64; who is the most diligent, 65; should learn of Christ, 179; set up by the devil, 182; an example for, II. 341; spiritual sleepers, 408
- Presidents*, lords, why bishops ought not to be, I. 64, 157

- Pride*, kings must not indulge, I. 107 ; reasons for humbling our, II. 413.
Priests, have the management of the mint, I. 63 ; meaning of chantry, 107 ; one that purchased a benefice, 166 ; one turned midwife, II. 9 ; duty of praying for, 25 ; frequent ale-houses, 58 ; their power of absolution, 97
Princes, said to be thieves, I. 123
Prisoners, should have spiritual instruction, I. 146 ; duty of visiting, 160
Promoters, recommended, I. 255
Property, men sworn to their, I. 277
Propitiatory, the meaning of, I. 68
Prosperity, danger of worldly, II. 151
Proverbs, old ones, I. 40. 97, 98, 130, 236, 256 ; II. 134, 178, 255, 350
Provincials, of religious orders, account of, I. 278
Psalter, our lady's, II. 99
Pudding, breakfast of a, I. 123
Pulpit, that of Paul's Cross, I. 47 ; that in the Privy Garden, 183 ; use of the, 186 ; one not used for twenty years, *ib.* ; an old boat made a, *ib.*
Punishments, commuted for money, I. 49
Purgatory, swallowed the people's money, I. 34, 47 ; abominable practice in regard to, II. 168
Purification, superstition in regard to women's, II. 10, 18
Pye, Dr. William, account of, liv.

Quarrel, how we must fight in Christ's, I. 24
Questions, for every man and woman, I. 2 ; subtle ones put to Latimer, 270
Questmongers, caution to, II. 54
Quondamship, what, I. 138
Rags, the world converted by, II. 347
Rain, to be prayed for, II. 71
Rainbow, instruction in the, I. 245
Rebellion, sinfulness of, I. 27 ; covetousness the root of, 223, 226 ; one in the north of England, Norfolk, and Devonshire, 224 ; an opposition to the divine will, II. 46 ; to be visited, 163
Redemption, universality of our, II. 186, 411
Redman, Dr., his correspondence with Latimer, xi.
Reformation, the old truth and learning restored, I. 28 ; necessary in the church, 49
Reformers, their notion of the power of the magistrates. clxii.
Relics, scandalous impositions of, I. 47, 51, 52, 203
Rents, evil of enhancing, I. 91, 93
Repentance, true doctrine of, II. 80 ; the first point of, 226
Restitution, remarkable instance of, I. 239 ; necessity of, II. 78, 88, 277, 304
Resurrection, on the last, II. 271
Revenge, must be left to God, II. 95 ; private forbidden, 148 ; two kinds of, 162

- Reward*, true nature of the believer's, II. 155
Rhodes, how lost, I. 11; II. 248
Riches, melancholy death of a rich man, I. 253; deceitfulness of, 254; on the increase of, 255; how to be valued, 256; address to the rich, II. 10; how to increase, 85; danger of, 109, 115, 145, indifferent in themselves, 421
Ridley, Bishop, his conference with Latimer, xlviii.; his disputation, lxxi., cxiii.; his sufferings, clviii.
Righteousness, the armour of, I. 28; on hungering after, II. 150
Robin Hood preferred to a sermon, I. 187
Rome, persecution there, I. 25; a rich man there sacrificed, 161; is without a shepherd, 185; argument for the supremacy of, *ib*; the last of the four empires, II. 81.
Rosary of the Virgin, account of, II. 99
Rule, that of Christ, I. 6
Rulers, dangerous state of, I. 91
Runners, without a calling, II. 244
Rust, that of the pope, I. 28.
Sabbath, judgments on the profaneness of the, II. 139; God's ploughing day, 140
Sacrament, water mixed with the wine in the, I. 122
Sacrifice, Christ the only efficacious, I. 69; vanity of the missal, 148
Saffron-bag, our Lady compared to a, I. 56
Saints, relics of, I. 51; not to be prayed unto, 204; to be prayed for, II. 174; not to be always imitated, 180; not to be worshipped, 311; are sinners, 382; their faith, 405
Salette, a head-piece, II. 166
Salvation, not by works, II. 94; is now near, 218, how to be attained, 367
Samaria, our Saviour's conference with the woman of, II. 57
Sampson, Dr. his imprisonment, I. 145
Samuel, evil conduct of his sons, I. 158; why rejected by the Israelites, 165
Sandwich-haven, cause of its being choked up, I. 227
Satan, his diligence in sowing cockle and darnel, I. 66
Satrap, meaning of, I. 103
Satisfaction, Christ our only, II. 229
Sauce, for cheats, II. 76; in the wedding feast, 131
Saul, his calling, II. 246
Scala Cœli, the five steps of the, I. 106, 159
Scandal, different methods of, II. 292
Scholars, poor ones to be relieved, I. 160; injured, 183
Schools, one of wards wanted, I. 64; evil of neglecting, II. 92, 245
Scot, Dr. Cuthbert, account of, lv.
Scriptures, should be in the vulgar tongue, xxi.; on racking of the, I. 56; excellence of the, 79; wonderfully preserved, 104
Seals, what meant by the keepers of, I. 190
Searcher, murder of one, I. 169
Seaton, Dr. John, account of, lv.

- Sedition*, preachers falsely charged with being the cause of, I. 114, 223 ; Latimer accused of, 119
- Seed*, sown by Christ, I. 234 ; its effects on various hearers, II. 430
- Sermons*, an affected imitation of Latimer's, I. 6 ; sleeping at, 181 ; omitted for the mass, 182 ; long and fruitless ones, 217 ; one of Christ's interrupted, 233
- Serpent*, what meant by the brazen, I. 70 ; destroyed, 71 ; how his head is bruised, II. 220
- Serpentines*, the devil's ordnance, I. 25
- Servants*, difference of slothful and diligent, I. 18 ; their duty, II. 25 ; good ones to be prayed for, 68 ; a curse upon slothful, 70 ; parable of the wicked one, 95 ; duty of masters to, 203 ; an example for, 310, 340
- Seymour*, Sir Thomas, his attainder, I. 145, 162 ; his impiety, 207
- Shavery*, the clergy brought to, I. 92
- Shaw*, Dr., his sermon at Paul's Cross, I. 163
- Shaxton*, Nicholas, his apostacy, li
- Shepherds*, rebuke of unfaithful, I. 17 ; conduct of those who visited our Lord, II. 310, 340
- Shilling*, story of a, I. 88, 120
- Ship*, the congregation of Christ, II. 401
- Sheriff*, story of a wicked, I. 161
- Shoes of peace*, described, I. 28 ; velvet ones worn by the clergy, 297 ; God's word compared to, II. 170
- Shooting*, a commendable exercise, I. 177
- Shorn*, John, account of, II. 142
- Shrouds*, in St. Paul's, account of, I. 55
- Sickness*, the people forsaken in, II. 90 ; vows made in, 96 ; temptations in, 105 ; promises made in, 116
- Signs*, of the second advent, II. 259
- Silence*, in what respects evil, I. 12 ; to be observed at sermons, 183
- Similitudes*, on those of the gospel, I. 56
- Simon the Pharisee*, his conference with Christ, I. 18
- Simony*, remarkable case of, I. 166
- Sins*, we should avoid being burthened with those of other men, I. 171 ; distinction between voluntary and involuntary, 175 ; the remedy of our, II. 6 ; how to pray for remission of, 92 ; all remissible, 98 ; forgiven only in, and for the sake of, Christ, 129 ; what sin is, 221 ; deadly and venial, 223 ; on sleeping in, 229
- Sisamnes*, his terrible punishment, I. 130
- Skin*, the sign of the judge's, I. 131, 161
- Slander*, answer to a, I. 115 ; remedy against, II. 95
- Sleep*, enjoyed at a sermon, I. 181 ; inordinate sinful, 231, 270 ; benefits of, II. 213 ; time to awake from, 218, 219 ; that of Christ, 400
- Sleepers*, spiritual ones described, II. 403
- Smith*, Dr., account of, lxxi. ; remarkable sermon of, cix. ; preaches at the martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley, cliii.
- Soldier*, the christian, his duty, I. 24
- Solomon*, his succession, I. 99 ; the choice of, 108 ; his justice, 109, 117
- Some*, Thomas, his address to the Duchess of Suffolk, I. 77

- Sons of God*, who they were, I. 219
Sorcerers, evil of resorting to, II. 25
Sorrowfulness, two kinds of, II. 147
Soul, on the separate state of the, II. 215
Southwark, stews in, I. 117
Sower, Christ the spiritual, I. 234; sermons on the parable of the, II. 407
 428
Spaniard, kills an Englishman, I. 176
Spanish priests, converted in England, clx.
Spectacles, for a king, I. 91
Spira, Francis, his story, II. 99
Spirit, on the sword of the, I. 29; blessing of poverty of, II. 146
Spirits, holy water employed to drive away, I. 70
Spirituality, duty of praying for the, II. 25
Stafford, George, Latimer's zeal against, iii.; story related of, II. 113
Stamford, sermon preached at, I. 258, 272
Standish, Dr., preaches against Erasmus, I. 44 note
Stephen, St., his prayer, the conversion of St. Paul, II. 13; sermon on
 his day, 318; horses bled on the festival of, 381
Steward, parable of the unjust, I. 32; character of evil ones, 36
Stews, public ones in England, I. 117
Stokesley, Bishop, cites Latimer before him, xxvii.; account of, xxx.
Stony ground hearers, described, II. 432
Strawberry preachers, described, I. 58
Students, story of one, 243; decay of, I. 246
Study, the duty of kings to, I. 104
Subjects, their duty, I. 28; II. 163; ought not to have too much, I. 91
Subjection, duty of living in, II. 48
Suffolk, Duchess of, her story, xlvi.; sermons preached in her house, II.
 1, 119; dedications to, I. 77, II. i
Suffragans, their origin, I. 156
Suits, poor men's to be heard, I. 110
Sundays, the devil served on, II. 189
Superstition, abuses of popish, I. 49; brought in by the devil, 66; that
 of women, II. 11, 18; practices of, 165
Supper, that of our Lord parabolized, in the wedding-feast, II. 126
Surveyors, rapacity of, I. 94
Susanna, her history, II. 58
Swearing, a shocking practice, I. 209; false in England, 277; care to be
 taken to avoid, II. 294
Sweat, on the bloody, I. 210
Sword, that of the spirit, I. 29; the spiritual and temporal, 80; God's
 word a powerful, II. 172
- Taxes*, enormity of popish, I. 48; duty of paying, I. 259; II. 178, 333
Tempest, our Saviour allayed the, II. 400
Temptations, nature of the devil's, II. 102; benefit of, 107; how to know,
 110; how God tempteth, 111; our enemy assaults us with various, II.
 Vol. II.

- 103 ; what we learn by praying against, 105 ; benefit of them, 109 ; in what respect they come from God, 111
Tenterden steeple, the cause of Goodwin sands, I. 227
Testaments, propriety of making them in time, II. 205
Testoon, an old coin, I. 121
Thieves, princes called, I. 123 ; the realm full of, II. 178 ; bound to make confession, II. 185 ;
Thirst, of spiritual, II. 156
Thomas, St., of Acres, where situated, I. 181, note,
Thorns, on the seed among, II. 430
Time, care to be taken in spending, II. 273
Tippet, a Tyburn, I. 160
Tithes, claimable by human laws, I. 279
Too much, how to be avoided, I. 82, 91
Tot quoits, what, I. 47
Tracy, William, his body taken up and burnt, I. 44, note,
Traditions, supersede faith, I. 46
Trance, account of one, II. 204
Tree, sermon preached from a, I. 186
Trentals, or *Triennials*, what, I. 53
Tresham, Dr. William, account of, liii.
Trespasses, how we must forgive, II. 89, 95
Tribulation, why we suffer them, II. 404
Trouble, benefit of, II. 109
Tribute, to be duly paid, I. 259, 275 ; II. 178
Triumph, game of spiritualized, I. 7
Truth, a rusty one new scoured, I. 21 ; the christian's armour, II. 166
Turks, game of the, I. 11 ; no dissensions among them, 114, 135 ; nor bribery, 166 ; dresses obtained from Turkey, 230 ; wicked christians worse than, II. 21, fidelity of the, 303
Tussocks, braided locks so called, I. 230
Tutors, their duty, II. 66
Twelfth day, sermon on, II. 350
Unity, to be promoted, I. 17 ; false kind of, II. 154
Universities, reduced state of the, I. 94, 159, 245
Upstarts, their insolence, I. 110
Usury, sinfulness of, II. 84 ; a right sort of, 85 ; common usurers serve the devil, 256
Uzziah, his example, II. 247
Vain-glory, the Virgin Mary an instance of, II. 58
Vardingales, an article of female dress, II. 329
Velvet, women dressed in Turkey, I. 230 ; clergy wear velvet shoes, II. 297
Veneries, meaning of, I. 225
Venetus, a friar, preaches against Latimer, ix
Vengeance, difference between private and public, II. 148
Vicars, neglect their flocks in sickness, II. 90

- Virgin*, the blessed, guilty of vanity, II. 58; reproof of, 181; her poor condition, 328
- Visitations* of Germany and England, I. 181, 122
- Vocation*, every man has his, I. 193; duty of following our, II. 58, 77, 250
- Vows*, constitution against those of women, I. 51; on those made in sickness, II. 116
- Walking*, conversation compared to, II. 183
- Walsingham*, our lady of, her shrine, II. 142
- Waltham Abbey*, impositions at, I. 70
- War*, no godliness in, II. 65
- Wards*, on the court of, I. 64
- Wares*, frauds practised in, I. 122
- Warfare*, the christian life a, II. 108, 158, 163
- Warham*, Archbishop, calls a convocation, xv
- Warriors*, the christian hath to contend with great, I. 25; muster of God's, II. 158
- Water*, holy, form for distributing, xxxiv; superstition of, I. 70; II. 165; mixed with the wine in the sacrament. I. 121; the devil not afraid of, II. 17; supposed to heal the sick, 165
- Watson*, Dr. Thomas, account of, lv
- Weapons*, those of the christian, I. 29; II. 166; the paternoster a powerful one, I. 141
- Weather*, prayer to be made for good, II. 71
- Wedding Feast*, particulars of the, I. 260; II. 123
- West*, Bishop, of Ely, his crafty conduct, ix.
- Weston*, Dr. Hugh, account of, liii.; remarkable blunder of, lxii.; his villainous speech, cxi.
- Whisperers*, the wickedness of, II. 153
- White*, Dr. John, Bishop of Winchester, account of, cxi.
- Whoredom*, prevalence of I. 118; the cause of murder, 176; a damnable sin, II. 68
- Whoremongers' Faith*, what, I. 215
- Wicked*, why in prosperity, II. 38, 403; why sure of punishment, 162
- Widow and unjust Judge*, on the parable of the, I. 111, 152; one confined in the Fleet, 112; the weapon of the, 141; comfort for the, II. 282
- Wife*, one only allowed, I. 87: on the choice of a, 89; hard to be ruled, ib.; the duty of a, II. 27; must pray for her husband, 67; caution in regard to, 220; extravagance of some wives, 230
- Will*, on doing that of God, II. 43
- Will and Testament*, duty of making, II. 205
- Wine*, unconsecrated imposed upon the laity for the sacramental, cxxiv.; water mixed with it in the sacrament, I. 122; how to be drunk, II. 384
- Witches and Wizards*, on consulting, II. 24, 199
- Wolsey*, Cardinal, his examination of Latimer, xii.; obliged every man to swear to his property, I. 277

- Women*, restrained from going on pilgrimage, I. 51 ; hard to be ruled, 89 ; to be in subjection, 229 ; their extravagance, *ib.* ; superstition of, II. 10, 18 ; our Saviour's conference with one, 57
- Word of God*, a sword to defeat the devil, I. 30 ; II. 172
- Work*, preaching is plough, I. 57
- Workmen*, those of the king, ill paid, I. 238
- Works*, St. Augustine on good, I. 17 ; definition of voluntary, 21 ; will works preferred to charity, 35 ; gains attributed to, 192 ; salvation not obtained by, II. 94, 187 ; necessity of good, 360, 371 ; necessary to be done, 413
- World*, the father of many children, I. 39 ; their craft, 37, 40 ; opinion concerning the end of the, II. 40 ; signs of the end of the, II. 269
- Worldlings*, clergy become, I. 41 ; pull down faith, 46
- Wounds*, representation of the five, I. 27 ; on swearing by the, 209
- Wyatt*, Sir Thomas, overthrows the papal supremacy by a joke, xiv
- Year days*, what they are, I. 281
- Yeomanry*, description of the ancient, I. 93 ; their sons should be brought up to learning, 94 ; their usefulness, 225
- York*, taken by the rebels, I. 23
- Young*, Dr. John, account of, liv
- Youth*, to be reared to learning, I. 94 ; manners of the London, 177 ; temptations of, II. 104 ; encouragement to, 278
- Zaccheus*, an example of restitution, II. 79

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